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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Brian Edward Russell entitled "The Work and Role Orientations of Personal Staff in Four State Senates." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Political Science.

Patricia Freeland, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

William Lyons, David Houston, Gray Ubben

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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Vice Chancellor and Dean of
Graduate Studies

The Work and Role Orientations of Personal Staff in Four State Senates

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Brian Edward Russell

May 2004

Thesis
2004b
.R87

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DEDICATION

To my wife, Regina.
Without her love, support, and inspiration
this project would not have been possible.

ACKOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who deserve thanks for this project. First is Brinck Kerr from the University of Arkansas, who inspired the academic pursuit of political science in me. Next is the faculty who served on my committee. David Houston and William Lyons have been a tremendous help. Their classes were great and provided invaluable training for this project. My outside reader, Gary Ubben, took his role seriously and provided guidance that made this project better than it otherwise would have been. Finally, my committee chair Patricia Freeland was always there when I needed help and never gave up on the project or me. In addition, the idea for investigating personal staff in the states was ultimately hers.

I would also like to thank Missy Parker and everyone in the College of Arts and Sciences Advising office. The assistantship in this office has provided great friendship, professional development, and through "work time" allowed me to complete significant portions of this project.

Lastly, thanks to all my family. My wife has been tremendous, helping with the design of the survey, the entering of data, and troubleshooting in SPSS. Thanks to my Dad, Pam, Ashley, Stephen, NeNe, Jennifer, Tyler, Calen, Mom, Jim, Roger, Cindy, Jim, Sue, and Trey.

Although I have benefited greatly from the help and guidance of many, any defects in this project can be wholly attributable to me.

ABSTRACT

Although the importance of legislative staffers has been recognized in Congress, little is known about staff at the state level. This project uses survey data from fifty-nine percent of the state senate offices in Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, and Wisconsin to provide information about staffers in the states. I find that staffers tend to be Caucasian, female, about thirty-seven years old, well educated, and earn about $37,000 dollars annually. Although the largest single category of work that staffers perform is constituency service, sixty-four percent of their work time is dedicated to other activities. Personal staffers in professional legislatures spend more time on constituency service, while staffers in citizen-professional legislatures spend more time on administrative tasks and preparing their legislator for the floor. The amount and types of work performed by state staffs suggest that the congressional "legislative enterprise" concept can be appropriately applied to the states. Most staffers have a "technico" approach that suggests they value the traditional, objective, and policy neutral approach to the job of personal staffer. Surprisingly, the "representative" approach, which values giving a voice to constituents, is the second most popular approach. It appears as though the "politico" approach, which emphasizes reelection, is more important to staffers in professional legislatures than in citizen-professional legislatures. Finally, staff from states with term limits appear to be younger, to have less overall experience, and to have less tenure with their current legislator.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Legislative staffers are integral parts of modern legislatures. In Congress they are involved in nearly every aspect of the day-to-day functions of the institution: legislative research, bill drafting, committee and floor preparation, attending meetings, internal and external communication, oversight, and the all important linkages with the legislator's constituents. Despite the centrality of staff to legislative operations at the national level, the literature on state legislative staff is surprisingly sparse.

The purpose of this project is to expand our understanding of Legislative staff in state legislatures. It is guided by three research questions:

1) Who are they?

2) What are they doing?

3) What are their role orientations?

I answer the first question by providing descriptive information on personal staffers working in the states. Information on education levels, experience, age, salaries, and diversity will increase our understanding of personal staffers. In addition to providing descriptive data I make comparisons among the states in this study.

Detailing the amount, types, and frequency of work performed by staffers provides an answer to the second question - what are they doing? Are personal staffers only working on constituency mail and administrative tasks, or are they also

involved in committee work, drafting legislation, meeting with lobbyists, and preparing and assisting the legislator on the floor? If the answer is the latter, it suggests that the collective office, or "legislative enterprise" concept from the congressional literature can be appropriately applied to the states (Salisbury and Shepsle1981).

Fox and Hammond (1977) originally suggested the collective office concept by identifying personal staff as a legislator's "personal team" that helps the member perform her duties. Loomis (1979; 1988) carried the idea further by suggesting that we conceptualize the congressional office as a small business where the legislator is a manager and staffers are his employs. Incorporating these concepts Salisbury and Shepsle (1981) point to a congressional "enterprise" that includes the legislator, personal staff, and committee staff that are assigned to the legislator.

Although not couched in terms of representation the concepts of a "personal team," "small business," and the congressional "enterprise" definitely push the envelope of representational theory. Instead of thinking of a single legislator, the collective nature of the congressional office is emphasized. Fox and Hammond conceptualize a personal team, similar to a coach and players. The legislator is the coach and the staffers are her players. Just like basketball, each coach has a different coaching style, but each is ultimately responsible for the "game plan." Loomis suggests the collective concept is best explained in terms of the business model. Each legislative office should be thought of as a "small business" where the legislator is the manager/owner and his business is representation. Salisbury and Shepsle (1981)

emphasize the congressional "enterprise." Instead of trying to achieve profits, the goal of the congressional "enterprise" is to get the legislator reelected, a profit of votes in the next election so to speak. In an effort to expand legislative theory, this dissertation details the work of personal staffers in an effort to determine whether the "enterprise" concept can be accurately applied to state legislatures?

To answer the third question this project identifies the role orientations of personal staffers in the states. Price (1971) was the first to offer theoretical explanations of staff behavior, which have not been applied to personal staff in state legislatures. He conceptualizes committee staff as either "entrepreneurs," or "professionals." "Professional" staffers (which I refer to as technicos) are neutral, rational advisors who try to find "scientific" answers to the questions of their legislator, or committee. The "professional" staffers do not push any agendas, nor are they trying to achieve policy outcomes. Instead they are neutral advisors and problem solvers. The legislator gives them a problem and they solve it under the terms established by the legislator. They provide technical assistance in an "objective" manner.

"Entrepreneurs" on the other hand, become staffers because they have definite ideas about "good" government. They work in the legislature because their goal is certain policy outcomes. Instead of trying to achieve efficient answers for their legislator, they are trying to achieve what they believe is "good" policy.

Salisbury and Shepsle (1981) offer a third explanation of staff behavior. Just as Mayhew (1974) suggests that the behavior of legislators can best be understood by

assuming they are seeking reelection, Salisbury and Shepsle posit that the behavior of personal staffers can best be understood by assuming they also behave in a manner to achieve their legislator's reelection. They refer to these new types of staffers as "politicos," and suggest that this model will become the norm.

I ask whether personal staffers are entrepreneurs, technicos, or politicos, and add a fourth role orientation that has not been used to explain staff behavior, the concept of representation. Are staffers "representatives" in their own right? Obviously they are not elected representatives, but are performing "in the name of" legislators who are performing "in the name of" constituents (Pitkin 1968). Most scholars recognize their importance as facilitators of the legislator's job, but not as an extension of the representative function. Hall's (1996) work suggests the possibility of thinking of staffers as representatives. He shows that staffers are often independently and intricately involved in the legislative process at the national level.

Eulau and Karps (1977) show that representation occurs across several dimensions: policy responsiveness, service responsiveness, allocative responsiveness, and symbolic responsiveness. Staff are involved in policy responsiveness through researching policies and their alternatives, assisting in writing policy, and influencing the decision calculus when voting (Fox and Hammond 1977; Hall 1996; Kingdon 1989). Staffers are also intricately involved in service responsiveness through their work with constituents, which is a clearly defined milieu of personal staffers. Another area where staffers may perform a representative function is through symbolic representation through attending events in place of their legislator. Since personal

staffers are intricately involved in the representational process, maybe they will have a "representative" role orientation?

It is important to examine state legislative staff for many reasons. First, we know that staffers are intricately involved in the legislative process at the national level. Congressional literature suggests that over the last thirty years staffers have become very important to the functioning of the institution. Has this change also occurred in the state legislatures? Since the activities of personal staffers in the states have not been documented, it is important to identify their activities for a better understanding of state legislative institutions. We have such little information on staffers in the states that basic descriptive information would be an addition to the literature

Second, much of the literature on "modernizing" and "professionalizing" state legislatures explicitly calls for an expansion of staff. In the 1960s there was a call by observers of state legislatures to improve these institutions, which were often viewed as inept and outdated institutions. There had been an expansion of executive power in many states that resulted in a net loss of power in the legislatures. It was thought legislatures should be "modernized" to correct the imbalances of power. In addition, government in the latter half of the twentieth century had become much more complex than in the nineteenth century, when many of these institutions were constituted. Until the movement to "modernize" state legislatures, many had not changed from their founding, still operating under rules that were written in the 1800s.

Bolton (1971) suggests "strengthening legislatures ... is important to counter the power of executive agencies ... staffers provide an independent source of information for the legislators. Otherwise they are dependent on information from executive agencies and interest groups. More staff, equals more power for the legislature to do the work of the people" (p.57). Although a great deal has been written about various components of modernization, the impact of adding staff has not been adequately addressed.

Third, states provide an interesting laboratory to test theories that have been used at the national level. Often we assume that congressional theories apply to legislatures in general. In fact these theories may not be applicable to other legislatures, which would call into question their application to Congress. Good theory should explain the behavior of staff at both the national and state levels. There has not been an application of congressional theory of personal staff to the states. This project will help rectify this inadequacy in the literature.

Finally, Hammond, one of the leading scholars on staff, emphasizes the lack of research on personal staff members. "Few studies focus on personal staff although" some "include personal staff in their analyses" (p. 561). She explicitly calls for more research on the staffs of state legislatures with a focus on theory application and building to help fill a void in the extant literature.

In this paper I investigate the personal staffs of state senators in four states. I choose to look at state senates instead of houses of representatives because it is believed that the "upper" house in each state will have more resources than the

"lower" house. For example, one of the states in my study does not have individual personal staffers for the "lower" house members. In Tennessee each house member shares a personal staffer with another house member. However, in the Tennessee Senate, each member has at least one personal staffer.

My study states fall in either the "medium" or "high" level of legislative professionalism. I use the professionalism scale suggested by the National Council of State Legislatures (1994). Full-time legislators, large staffs, high pay and low turnover characterize "professional" legislatures. "Citizen-professional" legislatures, on the other hand, are characterized by moderate pay, less staff, some turnover, and shorter sessions. Lastly, fewer resources, part-time legislators, low pay, high turnover, and small staffs characterize "citizen" legislatures. By definition these legislatures do not have the numbers of staff present in more "professional" legislatures. Therefore, I am unable to include a "citizen" legislature in my sample because, by definition, they do not have personal staffers.

The two "professional" legislatures in my study are from Ohio, which has term limits, and Wisconsin, which does not. The two "citizen-professional" legislatures are from Missouri (term limits), and Tennessee (no term limits). In addition, all the state senates in this study are of similar sizes. All except for Missouri have thirty-three senate offices, which has thirty-four offices. Although not a "representative" sample, I am confident the findings from this study will be suggestive of what occurs in other states. At a minimum it will provide an appropriate test of congressional theories and guidance for future research.

In sum, I employ theories developed at the national level to explain and understand the personal staff of state legislators. This research is one of the few attempts to develop a systematic explanation of state legislative personal staff. Using four different states provide me with four laboratories to develop and test theory on legislative staff.

This project will be constructed around five chapters. After the introduction, chapter two will discuss the relevant literature. I will focus on the development of staff in Congress, in the state legislatures, and in the theoretical literature. In Chapter three I discuss the research questions, theory, hypotheses, data, and methods. The findings will be detailed and discussed in chapter four. In chapter five I summarize the important findings, discuss the limitations of my research and its implications for legislative research. I conclude with suggestions for future research on legislative staff.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON LEGISLATIVE STAFF

The idea of a well-staffed legislature is a rather recent development. Traditionally, whenever someone wrote of "representative institutions," the concept of staff was not considered. In Locke's *Second Treatise on Government*, his primary concern was with the development of legislatures in the abstract, not the practicality of operating these institutions. Besides, the expectations that Locke had for his legislature may not have required staff.

Staff may not have always been necessary, but with the development of the modern industrial welfare state, the complexity of governance has increased dramatically. More complex legislation, more executive agency activity, and more casework demands are all contributing factors to the development and expansion of staff. As governments expand, so does the need for staff. The recent growth at the congressional level of scholarly literature on the subject suggests that our ideas on legislatures should be expanded to include the larger and more important roles in the legislative process that are performed by staff. However, the literature at the state level has not "expanded" to incorporate the importance of staff. This dissertation seeks to help rectify this inadequacy.

To develop a better understanding of staff, this chapter begins with a description of staff at the national level. I focus on the development of staff in

Congress because it is the most "professional," or institutionalized legislature in the United States (Polsby 1968). Since it is the most professional legislature in the land, it makes sense to compare state legislatures to Congress to see how the states compare with the "ideal" American legislative assembly (See Squire 1992). I use the development and explanation of staff at the national level in an effort to describe and explain staff in the states.

I describe the development of staff in Congress with an explicit focus on the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 and other reforms that took place in the 1970s. The 1946 act represents a "watershed" moment in the development staff, followed by a more encompassing expansion of staff in the 1970s. These are the major acts that are responsible for the expansion and professionalization of staff in Congress (Davidson 1990; Fox and Hammond 1977; Kravitz 1990). After the discussion of staff at the national level, I turn my focus to the states. First, there will be a general discussion of staff development in the states, followed by a more detailed description of staff (especially personal staff) development in the four states in this study. Next, I discuss the literature on Congress that has dealt with the issue of staff more systematically and theoretically, as opposed to dealing with staff as merely a "resource" for members of Congress.

The research on state legislatures still lags behind the research on Congress (Moncrief et al 1996). One important aspect that has been particularly neglected is research that develops adequate theories and hypotheses on the personal staff of state legislators (Hammond 1984; 1996). Although some literature mentions personal staff,

none has personal staff as the subject of scholarly work. Usually when personal staffs are mentioned it is used as an example of "professionalization," or to mention that staff levels in general have increased in the states. This study attempts to develop a more systematic understanding of personal staff in state legislatures, which will hopefully lead to a more theoretical understanding of personal legislative staff in general.

A. The Development of Staff in the U.S. Congress

Although it is obvious that Congress must have had staff before the 1850s, there is little discussion about it in the literature. During this period funding for staff assistance was secured on an ad-hoc basis in special resolutions that required approval for each session (Kofmehl 1962). In 1856 the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee were the first committees to secure permanent and regular funding for staff assistance (Fox and Hammond 1977; Kofmehl 1962). As a result of this adaptation staff assistance slowly became recognized as permanent fixtures of the institution.

A review of the legislative literature today shows consensus on the importance of staff, but little agreement on anything else related to them. Fox and Hammond (1977) suggest six themes have been common in the debates about staffing: "(1) The problems of an increasing (legislative) workload; (2) Sensitivity to constituent reaction to an increase in congressional expense, particularly expenses which can be attached to separate individuals and which may be interpreted as a salary increase for the

Congressman; (3) A strong minority argument that there is no need for increased staff; (4) Staffing as a part of congressional reform; (5) The importance of efficiency and economy in the operation of government and disagreement as to the methods of achieving both; (6) The expense of staff" (p. 13). These issues were discussed in the 1890s and have continued at least until the 1970s (Fox and Hammond 1977). Other arguments against staffing have been voiced. Specifically, Malbin (1980) has suggested that staff may insulate legislators from their constituents and other members, which may have detrimental affects on the democratic process (See also Meller 1967).

Acceptance of legislative staff came in stages. The type of staff that the earlier appropriation acts established was administrative, or clerical in nature. In fact, even today, the requisite appropriations for staff in Congress are still referred to as "clerk-hire" (Fox and Hammond 1977; Jewell and Patterson 1977). Through the first half of the last century staff were "assistants" who were not expected to be involved in the legislative process.

The role of staff became more standardized and accepted throughout the remainder of the 19th century. By 1900 appropriations in each house provided staff for committees and individual members (Kofmehl 1962). Personal "clerks," or in today's language, personal staffers, were first authorized for senators in 1885 and House members in 1893 (Fox and Hammond 1977). By 1946 each House office was limited to five personal staffers and the average number of personal staffers in Senate offices was six (Fox and Hammond 1977). Before 1856 there were no full-time staff on

committees, by 1924 there were 141 committee staffers in the Senate and 120 in the House (Fox and Hammond 1977).

The first half of the 20th century was a tumultuous period that fundamentally changed American society. By 1920 what was once an agrarian society had become an urban society. During this period the Progressive movement called for governmental reforms and new regulations on corporations. The Great Depression, WWII and its aftermath, as well as other factors, put incredible pressure on our governmental institutions to modernize (Davidson 1990). "The burgeoning legislative agenda, a product of external trends and demands, caused stresses and strains on Capitol Hill ... The growing workload not only strained legislative resources but threatened the constitutional position of Congress," in relation to the executive branch (Davidson 1990, p. 360). George Galloway, staff director of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, said that Congress was "still functioning for the most part with the machinery and facilities inherited from the simpler days of the mauve decade, its calendars and committees became increasingly congested, its councils confused, and its members bewildered and harassed by multiplying technical problems and local pressures" (quoted in Davidson 1990, p. 360).

As the initial changes occurred, Congress' first response was to "defer to presidential leadership" (Davidson 1990). This led to the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 and the development of what eventually became the Office of Management and Budget. However, as the change to expanded government became permanent

many in Congress did not want to "defer" to the executive. In order to respond to the increasing external demands, Congress would have to change itself as an institution.

In 1945 the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress began hearings that ultimately resulted in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. "The reformers' activities took place against the backdrop of mounting criticism of Congress from scholars, reporters, commentators, and editorial writers" (Davidson 1990). The American Political Science Association had even formed a committee in 1941 to address the problems of Congress. In particular interest to this project the committee found that "members and committees lacked adequate and independent staff," which led them to call for independent and professional staff for committees and an increase in allocations for clerk-hire (increases in personal staff)" (Davidson 1990).

The Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress held 39 days of hearings, which lasted from March until June, and heard from 102 witnesses (Davidson 1990). "These witnesses – members, staff, executive officials, and private citizens – differed on specifics but uniformly supported innovations of the type advocated by the political science group" (Davidson 1990). The committee eventually made 37 recommendations to Congress, which after some modifications became the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (Davidson 1990).

One of the main goals of the act was to increase the level of expertise and professionalism of staff. Before the act many committees were inadequately staffed. "Because of extreme demands on members' time made by problems affecting his

home district, professional and expert help is of vital importance. Under reorganization we authorized the employment of four professional experts for each of the reorganized committees and provided for pay scales reaching $10,000 per year" (Monroney 1949, p.14). Representative Monroney was the vice chair of the Joint Committee on Congressional Reorganization.

Although Monroney points out the increasing "demands on members' time," he emphasizes the changes made in committee staffing and increased funding of the Legislative Reference Service. However, he makes no mention of personal staff, which would seem to help counteract the "demands on members' time." That is because a provision for personal staffing in the Legislative Reorganization Act did not pass the House "and the parliamentary situation required acceptance of the House version" (Kofmehl 1962, p. 167).

The act originally proposed "(t)hat each senatorial and congressional office be authorized to employ a high caliber administrative assistant at an annual salary of $8,000 to assume nonlegislative duties now interfering with the proper study and consideration of national legislation" (Kofmehl 1962, p. 167). Although this provision was not included it showed that members were beginning to recognize the need for "professional" help in their offices. A salary of $8,000 per annum would have been a significant increase in the amount that was available to pay personal staffers. Moreover, the larger pay highlights the point that thinking on the issue of personal staff was evolving. A member would not have paid $8,000 a year for clerical help.

The pay scale was increased to hire "a high caliber administrative assistant," not more secretaries.

Still, even though the provision was not included members moved quickly to rectify its omission, especially in the Senate. In 1947 the Senate included a provision in an appropriations act for the hire of an administrative assistant for each senator. Although a similar provision did not pass the House clerk-hire provisions were increased to $12,500 (Davidson 1990). The provision in the Senate provided a base salary not to exceed $8,000 per year (Davidson 1990 suggests it was $10,000; Kofmehl 1962).

Moreover, the language in the new provision was slightly different from the original proposal. Instead of an administrative assistant to "assume nonlegislative duties," the provision provided an administrative assistant (AA) "to assist him in carrying out his departmental business and other duties" (Kofmehl 1962, p. 167). I believe this implies further evolution of the idea of personal staffing, at least in the Senate. Previous language implied that the AA was not to be involved in legislative duties. The later provision implied that the AA could be used for all duties. This is significant, especially later, because members are able to use their personal office staffers on committee and other legislative work, which increases the power of the rank and file members vis-à-vis the leadership. Democratization of staff resources is a significant factor in the decentralization of Congress.

The importance of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to this project is twofold. First, it shows that the institution responded to external forces and attempted

to "change with the times." The literature suggests that members were aware of the external changes and pressure on the institution and wanted to reform Congress to meet these demands. Second, the act introduced the concept of professional staff. "By laying the foundation for professionalized Capitol Hill staffs, the act itself provided resources of potential use to lawmakers of all types, junior and senior, liberal and conservative" (Davidson 1990, p. 370). As a result it laid the groundwork for future reform.

By the 1960s "grumbling" was heard again in Congress. Since the previous venture had been viewed as a success another Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress was formed in 1965 (Cohn 1991; Fox and Hammond 1977; Kravitz 1990). The eventual result was the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 and other reforms in the 1970s, which ultimately led to what we now know as the "post-reform" Congress (see Rohde 1991). The 1970s not only witnessed institutional reforms, but also the "new" breed of members that took advantage of revamped procedures. These new policy "entrepreneurs" used staff like no members before them (Loomis 1988; Malbin 1980).

The reforms of the 1970s, beginning with the Legislative Reorganization Act, dramatically increased the number of staff in Congress (Ornstein et al 2000). The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 increased the number of professional staff on committees from four to six and provided that the minority would be responsible for hiring two of the professional aides and one of the six clerical aides (Cohn 1991; Fox

and Hammond 1977). It also formalized positions and titles for personal staffs (Malbin 1980).

The House Committee Amendments of 1974 increased professional staffs of committees from six to eighteen and clerical aides to twelve (Cohn 1991). This was augmented by the House Democratic Caucus Action of 1975, which allowed subcommittee chairman and ranking minority members to hire an additional staffer, increasing the actual number of committee professionals to forty-two (Cohn 1991). Senate Resolution 60 in 1975 provided that senators could hire an additional three personal aides designated to perform committee work, which increased an already large personal staff (Cohn 1991; Fox and Hammond 1977).

House Resolution 359 in 1979 permitted members to hire an additional four staffers to add to their eighteen staff limit. However, these four staffers are limited to temporary, shared, or intern status (Cohn 1991; Ornstein et al 2000). These are the limits that are in place today. After the Republicans gained control of the House in 1994 they consolidated members' expenses into a lump sum category that covers all of their needs. In 1997 the mean dollar value of the new "members' representational allowance" was $901,771 (Ornstein et al 2000). In the last year of separate "clerk-hire allowances," members were given $585,560 to hire their 18 full time and 4 special category staffers (Ornstein et al 1991). Between 1967 and 1979 the number of personal staff in the House increased from 4,055 to 7,067 and peaked in 1983 at over 7,600 (Fox and Hammond 1977; Ornstein et al 2000).

Unlike the House there is not a numerical limit on the number of personal staffers senators may hire. However, they must conform to their "clerk-hire allowances" and limits on top salaries of staffers. Between 1967 and 1979 the number of personal staff in the Senate increased from 1,749 to 3,593 and peaked in 1991 at almost 4,300 personal staffers (Fox and Hammond 1977; Ornstein et al 2000). Today the average House office has 16.5 personal staffers and in the Senate the average office has 42.7 staffers (Ornstein et al 2000).

It is clear since the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 and especially the reforms in the 1970s, that Congress has undergone a tremendous transformation. The number of staff has dramatically increased the capability of the institution. Moreover, the expansion of the numbers and roles of personal staff has had a profound impact. The dramatic changes in the 1970s greatly enhanced the power of junior members vis-à-vis more senior members, party leaders, and institutional leaders. Staffers have become an integral part of the institution (See Bisnow 1990; Redman 1973; Smith 1988). Has a similar process occurred in the state legislatures?

B. The Development of Staff in State Legislatures

State legislatures were much slower to adapt in response to government's changing role in the early twentieth century (Zeller 1954). Until relatively recently state legislatures were for the most part parochial, malapportioned, understaffed, underpaid, limited by session length, burdened by an inadequate committee system, and often dominated by the executive (Burns 1971; Burns et al 1990; Hamilton 1964;

Heard 1966; Herzberg and Rosenthal 1971; Rosenthal 1996; Sanford 1967; Zeller 1954). In 1966 Heard argued "state legislatures may be our most extreme example of institutional lag. In their formal qualities they are largely nineteenth century organizations and they must, or should, address themselves to twentieth century problems" (p. 3).

The pressures for legislative "reform" that were present at the national level were also relevant in the states. "During the first half of the twentieth century the growth of state functions, especially in the important areas of education, public works (highways), health, and welfare, ha(d) been enormous" (Zeller 1954; p.2). Zeller shows that between 1900 and 1950 state functions increased dramatically. He claims that state employee roles had increased from the "tens of thousands to nearly a million" in less than a generation (p.2). Between 1913 and 1940 state expenditures rose from $378 million to $5.1 billion, and reached $11.6 billion by 1949 (Zeller 1954). "Present day legislative responsibilities are of such complexity, such magnitude, that they cannot be met adequately by the old-fashioned, time consuming legislative procedures, antiquated organization, inadequate and incompetent staff services" (Zeller 1954; p.3).

Some states began "reform" earlier than others (see Buck 1938 and Sanford 1967 for discussions of earlier executive and administrative reforms). Notably, at the beginning of the 20th century, state libraries in New York and Massachusetts were performing some legislative reference functions (Rothstein 1990; Zeller 1954). Ironically these reforms were pioneered in the states before being implemented in

Congress. In 1901 the Wisconsin legislature developed the first official "Legislative Reference Service" that not only became the model for other states, but was also the prototype that Congress used to establish its own "legislative reference service" in the Library of Congress in 1914 (Rothstein 1990; Zeller 1954). By 1950 most states had some type of legislative reference service (Zeller 1954).

Another legislative reform that had spread to other states was the implementation of Legislative Councils. The first was established in Kansas in 1933 and as of 1950 these were present in two-thirds of the states (Zeller 1954). Amazingly in 1951, following scandals in the legislature, California provided office space and a secretary to each member during the session (Wyner 1973). I believe this was the beginning of the use of personal staff in state legislatures. Still, the major thrust of reforms and the expansion of legislative staff did not occur until the 1960s.

By the 1960s the problems of state legislatures were well documented. There had been "a mass of newspaper and magazine articles, a welter of speeches, and numerous reports and studies, most of which had been neglected. To realize the extent of possible reforms and methods available, one need only to read one of these studies" (Herzberg and Unruh 1970; p.104). In general the "well documented" reforms that were needed were: Improvements in legislative/executive relationships, increased session lengths, increased compensation, increases in the levels and quality of staffing, better facilities, the streamlining of committee systems and operating procedures, and a code of ethics for state legislators (Burns 1971; Citizens Conference on State Legislatures 1971; Herzberg and Unruh 1970; Herzberg and Rosenthal 1971).

As a result of these environmental pressures state legislative reform was in full swing by the mid to late 1960s. Of particular interest to this project are the reforms that led to more staffing, especially personal staff. Reformers argued that more and better staff was necessary to truly reinvigorate state legislatures. "Legislatures need greater professional assistance in gathering, processing, and assessing information. Without staff, legislatures cannot possibly arrive at competent judgments, independent of governors, bureaucracies, and interest groups. Without staff there is little hope of redressing the contemporary imbalance between the power of the legislature on the one hand and that of governors and administrative bureaucracies on the other" (Rosenthal 1971, p.77).

At the national level arguments for increased staffing included claims of reducing the legislator's workload. However, that argument was not usually made at the state level. In the states the emphasis on increased staffing was made for improvements in capability, information, and independence (Bolton 1971; Burns 1971; Citizens Conference on State Legislatures 1971; Herzberg and Unruh 1970; Robinson 1973). "The trend in legislative modernization efforts seems clear ... the early 1970s appear to be a period for the diffusion of the innovations of the 1960s in staff services to a larger number of States and for the expansion of existing staffs" (Balutis 1975).

The focus of this study is to investigate a particular aspect of these expanded staff reforms. Specifically, I want to look at the impact of personal staff in state legislatures. In 1971 when the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures released

their "evaluation on the effectiveness" of state legislatures, they made specific recommendations for all of the states (Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, Wisconsin) in this study for increases in staffing in general, including the addition of administrative aides and secretaries for individual members (Citizens Conference on State Legislatures 1971). Surprisingly, of the states in this study, only Missouri provided individual staffers for members of the its Senate in 1971. The Citizens Conference recommendations obviously had some impact. By 1978 (the first year the "Book of the States" reports numbers of personal staff) all of the states in this study except Tennessee provided personal staff for individual senators. Tennessee followed suit by 1984 (Council of State Governments 1979; 1985).

Funding for personal staff is a part of state legislative budgets today. In Missouri state senators receive $66, 403 for personal staff, rent on district offices, and telephone charges. Institutional leaders, party leaders, and committee chairs are provided extra funds for more staff because of their extra duties (Donlin and Weberg 1999). Each senator in Ohio is provided with one administrative assistant and one legislative aide, while leaders are provided with an additional legislative aide (Donlin and Weberg 1999). The Tennessee General Assembly provides each senator with an executive secretary, leaders get an additional two staffers, and the speaker of the Senate has five staffers (Donlin and Weberg 1999). Finally, in Wisconsin, each senator has one secretary on the clerk's payroll. They also receive a staff allowance for up to two full time staff with benefits. Committee chairs receive an additional staffer (Donlin and Weberg 1999).

For all of the discussion in the 1960s and 1970s about the proposed benefits of the expansion of staff in the state legislatures, surprisingly little has been written on the subject. There are articles on committees, which include information about committee staff, but very little has been written that focuses explicitly on personal staff. This dissertation will address this gap in the literature.

C. The Development of Staff in the Literature

In this section I review the theoretical literature on staff. Most of the earlier work focused on categorization and description (See Kofmehl 1962 and Kammerer 1949). In addition, many of the treatments of staff in the literature are secondary. Meaning that staff is not the subject of the investigation, but instead are variables to be considered. These usually treat staff as "resources" that legislators use.

Although there had been earlier attempts to treat staff systematically (Kofmehl 1962; Kamener 1949; Matthews 1960), the quantum leap on staff occurred in the late 1960s. In particular there are a handful of works by scholars that emerged in the mid 1970s through the early 1980s that significantly changed our perceptions of staff. However, I believe the first works to start developing theoretical ideas about staff are Meller's (1967) "*Legislative Staff Services: Toxin, Specific, or Placebo for the Legislature's Ills*" and Price's (1971) work on committees that postulated a theoretical explanation to staff behavior, which was a significant departure from earlier treatments.

After Meller and Price there was a small explosion of scholarly works on staff. Of particular importance to this project are Heaphey and Balutis'(1975) "*Legislative Staffing*," "*Congressional Staff*" by Fox and Hammond (1977), "*The Congressional Office as a Small(?) Business: New Members Set Up Shop*" by Burdett Loomis (1979), Michael Malbin's (1980) "*Unelected Representatives*," and Salisbury and Shepsle's (1981) "*U.S. Congressman as Enterprise*." Together, these works have laid a solid theoretical foundation that was lacking in much of the earlier treatments of staff.

Other important works to be reviewed in this section are Loomis' (1988) "*The New American Politician*," which includes a more detailed treatment of his earlier ideas, Degregorio's (1988) "*Professionals in the U.S. Congress: An Analysis of Working Styles*," her 1997 book "*Networks of Champions*," DeGregorio and Snider's "*Leadership Appeal in the U.S. House of Representatives: Comparing Officeholders and Aides*," and finally Hall's 1996 "*Participation in Congress*."

Meller was not a newcomer as he had written several articles on legislative staff (See 1952, 1960, and 1965). Important in his 1967 article is his proposed system of categorization of staff into a "Legislative Service Matrix," which is divided into a quadrant of two axes. Horizontally is the clientele axis that sets up a continuum from left to right of "serving the legislature" to "serving a legislator." A staffer at the left extreme, a sergeant at arms, would serve the institution, not individuals. A staffer at the right extreme, an administrative assistant, would serve an individual legislator, instead of the institution. The vertical axis measures "personal identification." It

ranges from absolute "personal involvement" at the bottom, through "anonymous objectivity" at the top.

The two axes divide the grid into a quadrant. Staffers that would fall into the top left quadrant (A) serve the legislature with "anonymous objectivity." Those that fall into the top right quadrant (B) serve a legislator, instead of the institution, but again with "anonymous objectivity." Staffers in the bottom left quadrant (C) serve the institution, with "personal involvement." At the bottom right is quadrant (D). Staffers in this quadrant serve individual legislators, with "personal involvement."

Meller uses this grid to distinguish between types of staff. He asserts the utility of this classification and points out that all staff within Congress will fit into this scheme. Furthermore, he suggests that the addition of more quadrant (A) staff will lead to an increased workload for members of legislatures. Quadrant (A) staffers would be those found in legislative reference services. These staffers serve the institution, with "anonymous objectivity," or technical expertise. Meller shows tables that suggest, as these services are added, legislative outputs increase. Still, it is not clear that the increase is because of the addition of quadrant (A) staff, or if the addition of staff was a response to increases in the workload.

In addition to his "Legislative Service Matrix," Meller offers hypotheses. First, he suggests that quadrant (D) staffers, senatorial administrative assistants in particular, are "bent on keeping (their) patron(s) elected"(p.383). Although it was not his purpose, this "Mayhewian" idea suggests a possible explanation for the behavior of personal, or quadrant (D) staff. This foreshadows the work in 1981 of Salisbury and

Shepsle, which will be reviewed below. Also, Meller sounds an alarm that was suggested earlier by Kofmehl (1962) and later by Malbin (1980). It is the concern that additions of staff are a "panacea" for the problems of legislatures. "General augmentation of expert legislative staff alone offers no promise of aiding the busy legislator to overcome his impossible burden, but carries the risk of interjecting between the constituent and legislator a semi-autonomous bureaucracy whose expertise may raise the level of discourse above the comprehension of the general citizenry, block constituent-representative contact, and thus eventually subvert the fundamental processes of the legislature it serves ... In the states, whose legislative staffing patterns are beginning to mirror that of Congress, comparable restraint ought to be observed in the not too distant future" (Meller 1967, p.389).

Price's (1971) article is important because it also posited hypotheses about staff behavior. He focuses on whether committee staffs are "professionals or entrepreneurs" and shows, contrary to the popular paradigm of the time period that some staffers were beginning to behave as policy "entrepreneurs," rather than as neutral professionals. "Staff members ... were engaged in a continual 'search' operation, seeking both gaps for policy initiatives and fledgling proposals that might be developed and made politically viable ... They framed policy alternatives ... They devised hearings ... They secured mutually profitable liaisons ... (and) exercised an extraordinary degree of freedom in accepting, rejecting, and altering various amendments and in determining the form in which others came to the committee for decision" (Price 1971; p.322-23). The idea that staff may behave as policy

"entrepreneurs," as opposed to policy neutral, bureaucratic "professionals," emphasizes the independent influence of staff on the legislative process. Moreover, it is the beginning of a new way to conceptualize the behavior of legislative staff.

Heaphey and Balutis (1975) contribute an edited volume that addresses many issues concerning staff. Several chapters of this book are particularly relevant to this project. In the opening chapter Heaphey suggests that "staff are appearing in increasing numbers in legislatures because the workload of legislatures requires their presence. As this increased workload and staffing are shaped into workable parameters, organizational patterns emerge within which staff find their roles" (p.1).

In addition, Heaphey claims that legislative and executive agency staffs serve different purposes. That is why it is not accurate to describe legislative staff as a bureaucracy (See Kampelman 1954). Congress is a "political type" of organization and executive agencies are "bureaucratic, rational, efficient organization(s) established to carry out certain circumscribed tasks" (Heaphey 1975).

In other words Congress is inherently political. As a result people working in the legislature are going to be involved in the political process. This is in contrast to executive agencies where the primary concern is with administration and implementation. I do not want to overemphasize the politics/administration dichotomy, but it seems to fit here rather well. Legislative staffers, according to Heaphey, are and should be involved in the political process.

In sum, "legislative staffers must be better able to relate to the self-interest of the people immediately around them than their colleagues in the executive branch of

government ... For the executive staffer, success is most likely if he or she first thinks of the formal system and conforms to its norms, and then tries to adapt interpersonal relationships as well as possible. For the legislative staffer, there is not such a formal system to conform to; the world begins and ends with the persons he or she works for and with" (Heaphey 1975; p.11-12). Heaphey's argument appears to be suggesting that staff, especially personal staff, should not be thought of as bureaucrats, but instead as political agents.

Other chapters in Heaphey and Balutis' book provide interesting "first looks" at personal staff in the states. Porter (1975), analyzing "information needs" in the legislature and which type of staff would be best to fill these "needs," shows that only six percent and three percent respectively of Virginia and Michigan legislators "turn to legislative staff, legislative aides" for advice on legislation outside their area of specialization. However, he also reports that sixty percent of the members in the Virginia House find "personal legislative staff very useful" as sources of information. The only two groups that rated higher were personnel in administrative agencies (62%) and colleagues (77%). In addition, at least thirty percent of Virginia House members rated the following services of personal staff as important or valuable: Serving constituents, communicating with the public (30%); Helping with correspondence and newsletter (32%); General research and information gathering (32%); and Research related to specific measures (42%) (Porter (1975). In conclusion, Porter (1975) suggests that personal staff are not very influential in the

legislative process and "(i)ndividual aides in the states will not likely help the legislators very much in gathering the political information they most need" (p.55).

Worman (1975) investigates role consensus and conflict among administrative assistants and legislators in the Florida legislature. He suggests that there is a high level of consensus among staffers and legislators on the "attributes of the ideal aide" (p.87). Overall legislators and staffers rated constituent relations as the most important "ideal" activity of personal staffers. Other important "ideal" activities are researching and drafting legislation, public relations, campaigning activity, and representing legislators at meetings or events, while personal chores (errands, picking the legislator up at the airport, etc...) and secretarial expectations rated the lowest of activities for the administrative assistants (Worman 1975).

According to Worman administrative assistants are given the most leeway in "bill researching." Although forty-four percent of legislators "agree" that it is okay for staffers to represent the legislator's opinion to constituents, nearly thirty percent "strongly disagreed" with this activity. In addition, nearly thirty percent of legislators "strongly disagreed" with allowing staffers to accept gifts on behalf of the legislator (Worman 1975). However, a substantial plurality ofalegislators "agree" with giving administrative assistants a certain amount of leeway in a broad range of "ideal" activities (p.95).

Balutis (1975) reports information on three different types of professional staff in the New York legislature. In general he shows that all are well educated, with over two-thirds having graduate degrees. Committee and central staff tend to have graduate

degrees in Public Administration and Political Science, while leadership staff members (personal staff of leaders) tend to have Law degrees, with a small minority having Journalism degrees (p.114). A majority of Central staff and a forty-three percent of Finance Committee staff had executive branch backgrounds, with the legislature being the second most common background for all three groups (Balutis 1975).

Balutis also reports that sixty-one percent of all staffers were less than thirty-nine years old, with a modal age category of "30-34" (24%). In addition, over two-thirds of Committee and Central staff have long time career aspirations in the legislature, while only eighteen percent of leadership staff report similar aspirations. Leadership staffers (forty-seven percent) link their career aspirations to the careers of their legislator. Moreover, he suggests that staffers of the majority party tend to have more stable long-term aspirations in the legislature (p.118).

Leadership staff (personal staff) differed from the other groups when asked whether certain norms affected the "rules of the game" for their job. For instance only forty percent of leadership personal staff identified "limited advocacy" as a norm, while over seventy-five percent of the other groups identified it as a norm (Balutis 1975, p.119). On the other hand, central (60%) and committee (83%) staff identified "loyalty" as a norm, while all the leadership staff (personal staff) identified it as a norm. Only thirty-three percent of central staff and forty-three percent of committee staff identify "partisanship" as a norm. Again, all personal staff identified "partisanship" as a norm. In general personal staffers tend to be less inhibited by the

norms of deference, anonymity, specialization, apprenticeship, legislative work, and institutional patriotism" (p.119).

Balutis (1975) also finds that personal staffers tend to have more contact with the governor's staff, while other legislative staffers tend to have more contact with executive agency staff. However, personal staffers tend to have about half as much contact with lobbyists as other staffers. Personal staff also cited innovation and initiation as a job function about half as often as other staff. Finally, over ninety percent of all groups (legislators, executive agency staff, lobbyists, and staff) viewed legislative staff as either "Influential," or "Very Influential" in the legislative process (p.127). In sum, Balutis' findings highlight the differences among types of staff. These differences point out the diverse roles and functions of different staffs.

Fox and Hammond's (1977) "Congressional Staff" has become important to scholars concerned with understanding legislative staff. "A major objective of these studies was to determine the staff effect on legislation and policy through description and analysis of recruitment patterns, staff attributes, office organization, communication networks, and staff activities" (Fox and Hammond 1977,p.6). They also included traditional variables of importance to the legislative process in their analysis- party, region, seniority, and policy attitude, which "might affect staff use and staff impact on the policy process" (Fox and Hammond 1977, p. 6)

The concept of "staff attributes" is studied to determine who is working as staffers in committees and on personal staffs. The focus is mainly on backgrounds of staffers. What is their education level, where are they from, what kind of training

have they had, and what is their work experience? These findings are compared between chambers and between personal and committee staffs. The results provide us with an understanding of the type of people that are working as staffers, which gives us insight into how they may affect the legislative process. In general more educated and experienced staff increases the capability of Congress to perform its role.

They found that in the Senate the average "personal office professional staff member maintains his legal residence in his Senator's home state; earns over $24,000 a year (1977 dollars); is male, 38.5 years old; and has a college degree with some graduate work"(Fox and Hammond 1977, p. 37). It is not mandatory that staff be from the Senator's state. Although nearly two-thirds of professional personal office staffers maintained their legal residence in the state, there is considerable debate in the Senate over whether staff must be from the state. In fact one AA (Administrative Assistant) suggests that staff from the state may be "detrimental" as "they may sometimes have their own constituency" (Fox and Hammond 1977, p. 34).

Of particular interest is that over seventy-five percent of the staff members they studied were male. Since the focus was on professional staff many of the women staffers were excluded. In addition, men were disproportionately represented in the high salary ranges, while females were overrepresented in the lower salary ranges. "Only nine of eighty-seven of all staff earning over $30,000 per year are female. Of those earning between $16,000 and $20,000 over half are female. In the high-status occupational positions, such as administrative assistant, only three are female and among the legislative assistants eighty-two of ninety are male. Females are found

most often in the following positions: executive secretary (18 of 24), secretary (12 of 13), personal secretary (23 of 24); and assistant clerk (7 of 10)" (Fox and Hammond 1977, p.35).

Over half (289/470) of all personal staff studied had Bachelor degrees. As in pay the discrepancy between males and females is large. "Nearly all of the males, 221 of 235, and just under half of the females, 20 of 54, had obtained a B.A. or B.S."(p.35). In addition, only four of the seventy-one lawyers were female and none of the fourteen PhDs were female. These findings lead Fox and Hammond to "conclude that in proportion to their numbers, the female professional staff members hold fewer college degrees, earn less, and are found in positions of lower status than males" (p.36).

Other findings indicate that Democratic (89%) and Republican (80%) personal staffers are "strong partisans" and most identify with the same party as their senator (Fox and Hammond 1977). The modal category for age of personal staff in the Senate is "30-39" (42.4%), followed by "40-59" (34.4). However, Fox and Hammond point out that a majority of staffers are younger than fifty.

In general the findings for the Senate are similar to those in the House. One interesting difference is that the median age for top staffers in the House tends to be older than their counterparts in the Senate. Fox and Hammond suggest that this can be explained by the fact that many members in the House appoint a close campaign worker from their initial election as their administrative assistant. They found that fifty-five percent of the personal staffers had been involved in politics before

becoming staffers. "A large minority, 40 percent including a majority of the AA's, were directly involved in some aspect of the Congressman's most recent congressional campaign" (p.40).

As in the Senate a substantial majority of the sample population are men. The reason both samples are overrepresented by males is because the focus of this section of their study is on "professional" personal staff members. Therefore, women respondents are fewer as they were not adequately represented in the ranks of the "professional" staffer. Fox and Hammond also suggest that when females obtain professional positions they are treated differently. Female professional staffers "may be expected to handle typing and routine office chores which would not be expected of a man holding the same position" (p.43).

Fox and Hammond also study staff recruitment and tenure patterns. In the House eighty percent of the offices have a preference for staffers with "district ties," while twenty percent look for staff that do not have any district ties and a minority only hires district people (Fox and Hammond 1977). In both houses, "(s)taff recruitment is generally nonsystematic, based on personal contact, recommendation, knowledge of an opening, and often is facilitated by a congressional sponsor (Fox and Hammond 1977). Also, staffers in lower level positions tend to turn over more frequently than those in more senior positions and increased institutionalization of staffing positions has helped them more clearly define career opportunity structures (Fox and Hammond 1977).

Fox and Hammond also focus on office structure. They suggest "(s)taff increases have made necessary somewhat more formal office organization. Many Congressmen have chosen to increase the number of secretaries and caseworkers, the nonprofessional and semiprofessional staffers. But there is a growing trend to add professional assistants" (p.83). As members move up the seniority ladder they obtain access to committee staff, which may lessen their reliability on personal staff for legislative matters, but not always. As a result the personal staff of senior legislators may spend more time on constituent issues, but not in every case (Fox and Hammond 1977).

In the Senate the office organization of Republicans tends to be hierarchical (43%) and individualistic (38%), while Democratic offices tend to be organized individualistically (51 %). In the House half of Republican offices are either hierarchical or coordinative, while Democratic offices are equally represented in all three office organizational styles (Fox and Hammond 1977, p.180). They find that offices are hiring "press aides" and increasing their number of legislative assistants. In general they suggest personal staffers are becoming more involved in the legislative process.

In sum, Fox and Hammond lay the foundation for future research on legislative staff. In my project I follow their lead in the design of many survey questions. More importantly I believe that it was their work that began the transition to incorporating the idea of a "collective" office into the legislative process, instead of the "lone gunman" theory of legislative behavior.

The first to expound on the "collective" office perspective was Loomis (1979; expanded in 1988). Loomis suggests that the reforms of the 1970s provided a unique situation in Congress that was exploited by a rather large 1974 freshmen class. As a result of the democratization of Congress, new "entrepreneurial" members employed staff like no members before them. These new members enlarged the number of staffers and expanded their roles, making them even more important to the legislative process.

In addition, he emphasizes that member offices should be thought of as small businesses, with the member as the manager/owner. During this period House members had roughly sixteen personal staffers and senators had an average of thirty or so. All of these staffers were performing duties in the name of the legislator, usually many different tasks simultaneously. This allows a member to "act as a full-time legislator during the week, while his 'presence' in the district is maintained by offices, staff, publicity, and personal weekend appearances" (Loomis 1979). Although he calls the offices "bureaucratized," he emphasizes the "entrepreneurial" activities of the "collective" offices (See Loomis 1988).

Malbin (1980) observes the same changes in Congress as Loomis. However, he views the expansion of staff as problematic. He is concerned about "the effects of staffs on Congress' ability to act as a deliberative body" (p.241). Although the expansion of staff has helped Congress maintain and improve its vitality in a separation of powers system, Malbin argues the large staffs also increase the

workload, help to insulate members from constituents, and possibly, even more importantly may insulate members from each other.

Malbin claims that the founding fathers deliberately designed an institution that depended on the face-to-face contact of members. As a result of staff increases this face-to-face contact occurs much less frequently and for shorter periods of time. This is detrimental to the deliberative process, which is a vital aspect of representation in Congress. Malbin suggests to improve its deliberation Congress should limit its workload. However, this is unlikely to occur he argues because the numbers of "entrepreneurial" staff are increasing, which may actually increase the workload.

Salisbury and Shepsle (1981) focus directly on further developing the idea of the "collective" office. They "argue that as a consequence of staff expansion each member of Congress has come to operate as the head of an enterprise – an organization consisting of anywhere from eight or ten to well over one hundred subordinates. These organizations, varying in complexity, structure, and function, constrain and shape the behavior of the members in ways that help make the Congress itself a 'loosely coupled' collection of these enterprises, a very different institution than it was" (p.559).

Salisbury and Shepsle suggest two interesting results of the Congressman-as-enterprise concept. First, members now "simultaneously and continuously" pursue the three goals (reelection, good policy, power/career; See Fenno 1973) of members (Salisbury and Shepsle 1981). Allowing members to pursue many objectives at once

permits them to increase their already high probability of reelection, their ultimate goal (See Mayhew 1974).

Salisbury and Shepsle also propose a new explanation of staff behavior. In addition to Price's (1971) concept of staff as "professionals" and "entrepreneurs," they suggest the emergence of staff that should be though of as "politicos" (p.568). Politicos are not guided by "professional" norms, or policy advocacy. Instead their concern is advancing the careers of their legislators. Furthermore, they suggest that "politicos" are to be found in the legislature in ever increasing numbers.

Several articles discuss the importance of staff in the context of leadership roles in Congress (DeGregorio 1988; 1997; DeGregorio and Snyder 1995). In these studies the author(s) contact people from outside the institution and ask them to provide information about how they worked to get their "legislative agenda" passed. It turns out they identify staffers as "leaders" within the institution on getting things done on legislation.

DeGregorio (1997) shows that of all the "recognized" leaders, members accounted for sixty-five (64.5) percent, while aides accounted for the remaining thirty-five (35.5) percent of identified "leaders" (p.34). The thirty-five percent of staff leaders breaks down into the following percentages. Forty-one (40.7) percent were standing committee staffers, twenty-eight (27.8) percent were subcommittee staffers, twenty-six (25.9) percent were personal staffers, and the remaining six (5.6) percent were from party leadership offices (p.42). DeGregorio (1988) also finds evidence for Salisbury and Shepsle's (1981) "politico" hypothesis as twenty-nine percent of staff

identified with the concept of serving their legislator's goals, as opposed to having an "entrepreneurial," or "technical" orientation. Surprisingly, the largest group of subcommittee staffers, forty percent, did not fit any of the three types of orientations (p.466).

Hall (1996) points to the importance of staff when he investigates why members of Congress become involved on certain issues, but not others. He incorporates the "collective" office concept into his work on "legislative participation." Accordingly, Hall examines whether members' "enterprises" (which include any staff that work for the member) become involved. He shows that, on average, a very small percentage of enterprises are actively involved in moving a particular "bill" through the "legislative dance."

Other works about staff accept a large role for them in the legislative process, but Hall's integrates them into his "legislative theory." He claims that a "distinguishing feature in (committee decision making) behind-the-scenes work is that most of it is conducted by staff ... the role of that (legislative) enterprise is everywhere evident ..." (p.28). In committees, "prior to and outside of markups, most of the deliberations take place at a staff level, with representatives participating through their agents" (Hall 1996, p. 42).

The literature paints a complex picture of legislative staff. Professional staff in Congress tend to be well educated, relatively young, and compensated well, with men overrepresented in higher positions with better pay (Fox and Hammond 1977). Different types of staffs have differing roles and orientations. In general, staffers are

viewed as technicos (neutral professionals), entrepreneurs, and politicos (DeGregorio 1988; Loomis 1979, 1988; Price 1971; Salisbury and Shepsle 1981).

In particular, personal staff members tend to be more loyal to their member and partisan (Balutis 1975), which comports well with Heaphey's (1975) suggestion that legislative staff should not be thought of bureaucrats, because their job is inherently political. In addition, staffers perform an important role in integrating and connecting the institution with other institutions and actors in the political process (Balutis 1975). Staff members communicate and work with the executive branch, agencies, lobbyists, constituents, press, other staff, and other members (Balutis 1975; Fox and Hammond 1977). However, Meller (1967) and Malbin (1980) raise flags of concern. They suggest that additional staff may have detrimental affects on the institution.

It is clear that staffers are an important part of the institution. Moreover, at the congressional level, staff members have been incorporated into "legislative theory." Although staffers have become important to legislative research at the national level, less has been said at the state level. This project seeks to help fill the void on staff in state legislative research.

CHAPTER 3

QUESTIONS, THEORY, HYPOTHESES, AND METHODS

This chapter contains four sections. First, I discuss the three research questions that guide this inquiry. Next I outline and explain the congressional theories that are applied to state legislative staff. After the discussion of theory I detail expectations and the hypotheses to be tested. The chapter closes with a description of the methods.

A. Research Questions

This project is guided by three research questions. The first asks who are they? More specifically, what are their education levels? What is their experience? How old are they? What is their race and gender? What is their rate of compensation? This descriptive information is important because we know very little about personal staff in the states and these findings will provide information regarding the personal staffs of state legislative enterprises.

The next research question asks what are they doing? Are they focusing on constituency service, legislative duties, or possibly oversight, committee work, letter writing, speech writing, research, and day-to-day activities? How much time do they devote to different duties? Do they work on a legislator's reelection campaign? Do staffers have autonomy to make decisions, or are they micromanaged? How much

communication occurs between personal staffs, committee staffs, caucus staffs, institutional staffs, and other legislators? Do staffs communicate with lobbyists and interest groups? The answers to these questions will help identify whether it is appropriate to think of state legislative offices as enterprises.

In addition to detailing the work of personal staffers, this project discusses how legislative offices are organized. Fox and Hammond (1977) suggest three possible alternatives. First is the hierarchical organization, with the legislator at the top. If the office is large enough there will be a chief of staff that acts as a filter for the other staffers. Job level and descriptions are clearly demarcated. The legislator provides direction and the staff follow orders.

Next is the coordinative office, with a loosely organized hierarchy. The legislator and/or chief of staff are still at the top, but the lines of power are not as clearly demarcatedt Instead of the chief of staff being the "clearance person" she is more of an advisor. Job level and descriptions are less clearly defined. The legislator provides direction, but ideas may also come from staffers.

The third type is an Individualistic office where the atmosphere is more collegial. All have access to the legislator. Staffers operate independently and coordinate matters with each other. Direction and ideas come from the group. Obviously, the legislator is first among peers, but this is a team.

The third research question asks whether personal staffers of state senators are "entrepreneurs, technicos, politicos, or representatives?" Entrepreneurs (policy orientated) look for opportunities to tackle public issues and make good public policy

(Price 1971). These staffers are initiators. Technicos (professionally orientated) are geared toward professional norms: Neutrality, objectiveness, gathering and disseminating information. Instead of advocating policies they try identify the best among the alternatives (Price 1971). Technicos are advisors. Politicos (member orientated) serve their legislator with reelection being the ultimate objective (Salisbury and Shepsle 1981). They may be professional and they may be entrepreneurs, but norms of objectivity and policy are not their goals. Representatives (constituent orientated) are concerned with making sure that constituents are heard. Although legislators are ultimately responsible for the "representative" function, there is nothing that prohibits staff from behaving as representatives.

Finally, I look for differences among the state legislatures. I examine the research questions above and determine if there are any differences among the state legislatures in my study, between the levels of professionalism, and between term-limited and non-term limited states.

Congressional research suggests that staff and legislative enterprises are more important to the legislative process than in the past. Applying these concepts to the states should yield results that will enhance existing ideas on legislative politics in the states.

B. Theory

At the congressional level some scholars stress the importance of considering representation in terms of a collective legislative office, instead of focusing on the

individual member (Fox and Hammond 1977; Hall 1996; Loomis 1979, 1988; Salisbury and Shepsle 1981). The congressional office is described as a legislative "enterprise." Staffers assigned to the legislator are engaged in a coordinated effort that allows the member to be in more than one place at a time. At any given time these "enterprises" may be working on casework, oversight, communication, information gathering, research, and drafting legislation. In effect representation is occurring through the many individuals of a legislator's office, all in the member's name.

This project extends the "enterprise" concept to state legislatures. It might be argued that it is inappropriate to apply the enterprise concept at the state level. Some congressional enterprises comprise over eighty individuals (Salisbury and Shepsle 1981), while a state senator may have an enterprise of two, the legislator and one staffer. Still, if staff members perform important functions for and in place of the legislator, it would suggest that the enterprise concept is appropriate in the states.

Another theoretical approach brought to this research is the concept of role orientation. Salisbury and Shepsle (1981) suggest an additional type of orientation for staffers to the traditional dichotomy offered by Price (1971). Price's focus was on committee staff and he suggested that most staff approached their jobs as "policy entrepreneurs," or "neutral professionals." Salisbury and Shepsle (1981) claim that with the emergence of the congressional enterprise staffers are less directed toward policy outcomes and professional standards, but instead are driven by loyalty to individual members. They refer to these staffers as "politicos." These ideas converge

nicely with the rational choice literature that suggests members are focused on reelection, prestige, and good public policy, and that Congress and elections have become more candidate and member centered (Mayhew 1974; Fiorina 1977; Fenno 1973; 1978).

Hall's (1996) work suggests that another orientation may be possible for staffers. He has integrated the enterprise concept into his "legislative participation" theory. Hall describes staff as intricately involved in the legislative process in the name of their member. Staffers are not just being directed in their actions by the legislator, but are intricate parts of the process.

It is as if staffers are behaving as "trustees" to the legislator instead of "instructed delegates" (See McCrone and Kuklinski 1979). This leads me to propose a fourth possible orientation of staff is that of "representative." Pitkin (1967) suggests that representation occurs when someone acts in the interest of the "represented" in a manner that is responsive to them. Clearly personal staff could fit this definition.

In an effort to address Hammond's (1996) claim that literature on staff at the state level has not been driven by theory I use congressional theories to investigate state staff. First, I apply the "enterprise" concept to state legislatures. This is a new approach to understanding the behavior of state legislators and staffers. If "enterprises" are functioning in the states it would suggest that legislative theory should be expanded to reflect this "new" development. I also test theoretical assumptions about staff orientations toward their jobs. Included are the three dominant explanations of staff behavior and the addition of a fourth, that is suggested

by Hall's (1996) research, that of staffers approaching their jobs with a "representative" orientation

C. Hypotheses and Expectations

In general the hypotheses and expectations will be structured for comparisons among the legislatures in this study. Wisconsin and Ohio are professional legislatures, while Missouri and Tennessee are citizen-professional legislatures. The staffers of the professional legislatures are expected to be older, better educated, more diverse, more experienced, and perform more types of work than the personal staff of the citizen-professional legislatures.

There is no research at the state level to provide guidance for hypotheses on staff orientations. Congressional studies suggest that the traditional role of staffers has been the neutral professional, which I refer to as technicos. In the last thirty years the roles of staffers have evolved into entrepreneurs and politicos. Since the addition of personal staff is a more recent phenomenon in the states than in Congress, they may still be guided by the idea of the neutral and professional advisor. As a result I expect the dominant role orientation in the states to be that of technico. Moreover, I expect more staffers in the citizen-professional legislatures to have technico orientations than staff members in the professional legislatures.

Loomis (1979; 1988) suggests that entrepreneurial staff orientations may be a result of the "Postreform" Congress where individual members have more power and expanded staffs. The states in my study are not "Postreform Congresses." However, I

expect the professional legislatures states in this study to be more like Congress than the citizen-professional legislatures. Therefore, I expect that more staffers in the professional legislatures will behave as entrepreneurs than staffers from the citizen-professional legislatures.

As personal staffers have become institutionalized in Congress they have become more member orientated (DeGregorio 1988; Salisbury and Shepsle 1981). I believe personal staffers are more institutionalized in the professional states than in citizen-professional states in my study. Therefore, I hypothesize that more personal staff members in the "professional" legislatures will be member orientated (politicos) than the staffers of the "citizen-professional" legislatures.

I do not have specific hypotheses for the role orientation of "representative" across legislatures (See discussion about this role in the theory section above). Essentially my expectation for this role is that some staffers may think of themselves as representatives. If any personal staffers identify representative their approach to their jobs, this will be a new finding.

There is no research about the organization of state legislative offices. Loomis (1988) suggests that congressional "enterprises" have become more hierarchical, specialized, and decentralized. Since the professional legislatures in this study are more like Congress, I expect that more of these "enterprises" than those of the citizen-professional legislatures will be hierarchical.

We know that congressional enterprises are engaged in a myriad of activities, but what about state legislative enterprises? This project employs data that details the

"workload" of state legislative enterprises. If the enterprise concept were not applicable I would expect to find personal staffers only engaged in constituency work and administrative work. However, if personal staffers are engaged in committee work, work on the floor, and meeting with lobbyists, it would suggest that the concept is relevant.

In addition, I expect to see differences among legislatures. The professional legislatures in my study (Ohio and Wisconsin) should have more developed enterprises than the citizen-professional legislatures (Missouri and Tennessee). In general enterprises must perform the same functions: constituency service, committee work, preparing and assisting their legislator for the floor, work with the press, interest groups, the executive branch, and administrative work. As a result my first set of hypotheses is developed to test the differences between the professional and citizen-professional legislatures.

Since we know that constituency service has electoral benefits (Fenno 1978), I expect the enterprises of the professional legislatures to do more of it. They have more staff and resources, plus they have more incentive as the result of the opportunities provided by their "career" institution. For similar reasons I expect that professional enterprises will dedicate more of their resources to public relations and working with the press. Generating name recognition and publicity is important for all legislators who want to be reelected. It is especially at a premium in more high profile professional institutions. Other than constituency service little has been written about the work of personal staff. Therefore it is more difficult to follow precedent in

developing hypotheses for the other activities of legislative enterprises. Still the differences between the institutions provide a guidepost.

Since by definition citizen-professional legislatures have fewer resources and staff, I expect these enterprises to be engaged in more committee work than enterprises of professional legislatures. Committees in professional legislatures are likely to have more staff and resources. Therefore these legislators may be less likely to rely on their enterprises for committee work, but citizen-professional legislators may be more likely to use their personal staffers for committee work.

I also expect citizen-professional enterprises to dedicate more of their time to preparing and assisting their legislator on the floor. These enterprises have fewer staff and resources, but must accomplish the same types of duties that professional enterprises perform. As a result of being stretched thin more of their time will be dedicated to this task.

With fewer staff and resources the enterprises of citizen-professional legislatures are more likely to be dependent on outside sources for information and legislative ideas. Indeed, one of the goals of expanding the numbers of staff was to make the legislator less dependent on interest groups and the governor. Therefore I expect enterprises of citizen-professional legislatures to devote more of their time working with the executive branch and interest groups than the enterprises of professional legislatures.

Finally is the administrative work that all enterprises must perform. Answering the phone, scheduling, having someone in the office, as well as other tasks.

Again, since the citizen-professional enterprises have fewer staff and resources than professional enterprises more of their time must be dedicated to this function. As a result I expect citizen-professional enterprises to dedicate a larger percentage of their total amount of work to administrative tasks than the professional enterprises.

In addition to testing hypotheses my study will provide descriptive information on staff members and their organization within the legislature. My goal will be to provide information that will generate a theoretical explanation of personal staffs and generate future testable hypotheses.

D. Methods

I investigate the personal staffs of state senators in four states. The states are Ohio, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Tennessee. Ohio and Wisconsin are professional legislatures, while Tennessee and Missouri are citizen-professional legislatures.[1] Missouri and Ohio are states that have term limits for state legislators, while Tennessee and Wisconsin do not.

The average Senate districts in Ohio and Wisconsin are similar.[2] Ohio has a Republican majority, while the Democrats control Wisconsin. They have roughly equal percentages of urban areas. However, Ohio is more suburban and Wisconsin is

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[1] I employ the professionalism category used by the National Conference on State Legislatures as reported in Dye (1997). Professional: full time, large staff, high pay, and low turnover. Professional-Citizen: moderate pay, staff, turnover, and time. Citizen: part time, low pay, small staff, and high turnover.

[2] Information on district information is from: Barone, Michael, William Lilley III, and Laurence DeFranco. 1998. *State Legislative Elections: Voting Patterns and Demographics*. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly.

more rural. Average household income is approximately equivalent and the average Ohio Senate district is slightly more college educated that the average Wisconsin district. Both have the same levels of social security recipients and Ohio is more diverse with the average district being eleven percent African-American, while the average Wisconsin Senate district is only five percent African-American. Finally, both are midwestern states.[3]

Missouri is also a midwestern state, but Tennessee is not. However, Tennessee is a peripheral southern state and is contiguous to Missouri. The average Tennessee Senate district when compared to Missouri is more urban, less suburban, and equally rural. The average Missouri district has a slightly higher average household income, is more educated, and has more senior citizens than the average Tennessee district. Tennessee has a slightly higher proportion of African-Americans than Missouri (16%-11%). Missouri has a Republican majority and the Democrats have a majority in Tennessee.

Each Senate is similar in size. All have thirty-three Senate districts except for Missouri, which has thirty-four. Although not identical these four states are similar enough to make valid comparisons. Since these four states are similar, whenever comparisons are made between levels of professionalism and term-limits, any differences will be attributable to these variables. The similarity of the states provides a control for any extemporaneous variables. Ideally I would include staff from Citizen legislatures. However, they do not have personal staffs. For example, Arkansas state

[3] The size of the population in Missouri (5.6 million), Tennessee (5.7 million), and Wisconsin (5.4 million) are very similar, while Ohio (11.4 million) is larger.

senators do not have individual staff. Instead they have access to a stenographic pool during the session.

My unit of analysis is the Senate offices in these four states. I investigate who the staffs are in each office and what they are doing. Conceptually each office has a function. It must represent its constituents in general, but specifically it must respond to mail, provide services, draft legislation, as well as meet other legislative functions. I am trying to discern how these functions are performed and how important personal staffs are in performing these functions. Where appropriate ANOVA is used to test for significance between populations. For this project a significance level of .10 is acceptable and I report levels at .01, .05, and .10.

To collect data for this project I employed a survey instrument. Following the lead of Fox and Hammond (1977) I structured many of the questions for my survey after their survey and interview questions. I sent a "rough draft" of my survey to selected state senate personal staffers. I received responses from staffers in the three of the four states in my sample. Each of these staffers offered suggestions for the final product. More importantly these staffers verified that the survey was readable and understandable to the target population.

For the design of the questionnaire I followed suggestions and examples from Dillman (1978) and Schuman and Presser (1996). I asked for the survey to be completed by a staff member who could answer specific questions about themselves and general questions about everyone in their office. The survey consists of approximately one hundred questions. The first section (See Appendix C) asks about

how staff members approach their job. Since an important goal of this project is to identify the role orientations of personal staffers the first question asks respondents to rank four possible approaches to staff jobs. The four approaches are descriptions that correspond to the orientations (entrepreneur, technico, politico, and representative) of staff identified in the literature.

Section B of the survey attempts to identify information about the whole enterprise. The answers will show how much time staffers spend on constituency service, committee work, working on the floor, as well as working in other areas. Questions about office organization and staff autonomy are in section C. In section D respondents are asked to identify the quality of their working relationships with other political actors. Respondents are to identify "how often the full time staff members in your office are engaged in the following activities" in section E. The activities are "working with committee staff, researching legislation, meeting with lobbyists," as well as other activities. Section F asks the respondents to identify how often they communicate with different political actors.

Questions about experience, job descriptions, and career goals are found in section G. The respondents are also asked to identify "professional" information about other staffers in their offices. Section H provides general demographic information about personal staff. The last question asks respondents to identify personal staffers who they view as institutional leaders.

Overall my response rate was fifty-nine percent (58.6%). The highest response rates were from Ohio at sixty-seven percent (66.6%) and Tennessee at sixty-one

percent (60.6). The response rates in each state exceed fifty percent. Wisconsin had a response rate at fifty-five percent (54.5%) and Missouri's was fifty-three percent (52.9%).

Are the respondents representative of the personal staffers in these four state senates? Overall, of the 133 offices in the four states, Republicans hold fifty-one percent of the seats, but account for fifty-six percent of my responses. Therefore, my sample is slightly over represents Republican offices, while under representing Democratic offices. Women hold twenty-four percent of the 133 offices, but account for only twenty-one percent of my responses. Therefore, my sample slightly under represents the offices of female legislators. Finally, since offices with more staff and resources are more likely to have the ability to respond, I believe that my results may over represent the offices held by leaders and more senior members.

In Wisconsin Democrats control fifty-five percent of the offices, but only account for forty-one percent of my sample. Women hold thirty percent of the offices, but account for forty-two percent of the office responses in the sample. The responses from Wisconsin over represent offices held by Republicans and women.

Although Republicans hold forty-five percent of the offices in Tennessee, they account for sixty-percent of my sample offices. Women hold fifteen percent of the offices and their offices are ten percent of my sample. In general the responses from Tennessee over represent Republican offices, but slightly under represent offices held by women.

In Ohio Republicans hold sixty-four percent of the offices and Democrats hold the remaining forty-six percent. However, each represents fifty percent ofmy sample. Therefore, the results under represent Republicans and over represent Democratic offices. Women hold nine percent of the offices, but account for fourteen percent of my sample.

Republicans hold fifty-three percent of the offices in Missouri and account for fifty-six percent of the responses in my sample. Women hold eighteen percent of the offices and account for twenty-two percent of the responses. The responses from Missouri slightly over represent offices held by Republicans and women. In sum, I believe that my survey provides sufficient data to adequately answer my research questions.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this section I detail the findings of my research. First I answer the general research question "Who are the personal staffers of state legislators?" I answer this by identifying the race, gender, education, age, and experience level of personal staffers. Next I discuss what staffers are doing. Identifying the workload of personal staffers, the types of activities they perform, whom they work with, and how they are organized provides information about personal staffers in the states that has not been detailed in the literature. In addition, information about the types and amounts of work staffers perform provides evidence of whether the legislative "enterprise" concept is appropriate in the states. The third part of this chapter details the role orientations of personal staff members.

A. Who Are They?

The data provide demographic information on 186 personal staffers and seventy-eight offices of state senators. In general there is little diversity among the personal staff members of state senators (See Table A.1 in Appendix A). Ninety-one percent of the staffers in my study are Caucasian. Ohio staffers are the most racially diverse as a group with eighty-seven percent of staffers identified as Caucasian. Missouri is the least racially diverse with ninety-seven percent of their personal

staffers identified as Caucasian. Wisconsin and Tennessee have ninety-one and ninety-two percent respectively of the staffers identified as Caucasian.

None of the eighteen offices and sixty-six staff members from Wisconsin were identified as African-American. The same holds true for the twenty offices and thirty-seven staffers from Tennessee. For the twenty-two offices and fifty-two staff members from Ohio ten percent were identified as African-American. Three percent of the thirty-one staffers from eighteen offices were identified as African-American in Missouri.

In Tennessee and Missouri none of the staff members were identified as Hispanic, Asian-American/Pacific Islander, or Native-American. In Wisconsin, of the sixty staff members, one is Hispanic, one is Asian-American, and one is Native-American. There is one Native American staffer in Ohio, but no Hispanics or Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders.

The findings suggest that personal staffers are not a racially diverse group. Overwhelmingly Caucasians are disproportionately represented in the ranks of legislative staffers. However, the percentages of Hispanic and Asian American staffers is approximately equal to their numbers in the general population of Wisconsin, but African-Americans represent five percent of the state population and none of the staffers in my sample. Ohio has a small Hispanic and Asian American population, but appears to achieve descriptive representation for African-Americans as they represent eleven percent of the general population and ten percent of Ohio staff members.

African-Americans appear to be underrepresented among the ranks of personal staff members in Missouri, as they are eleven percent of the population, but only three percent of the staffers. The same holds true for Tennessee, where African-Americans are sixteen percent of the population, but are not represented in my sample of staffers.

What about gender? Females are sixty-one percent of the staffers in this study (See Table A.2). In Tennessee and Ohio, females account for seventy-six and seventy-five percent of staffers respectively. The percentage of female staff is slightly lower in Missouri, but still rather large at sixty-eight percent. Surprisingly females only account for thirty-eight percent of the staffers from Wisconsin.

Fifty-two percent of all staffers in this study have college degrees (See Table A.3). In Ohio and Wisconsin over sixty percent of staff members have degrees, while forty percent in Tennessee and twenty-seven percent in Missouri have college degrees. Having a degree is the modal category for all of the states except for Missouri, where the largest percentage of its staffers (33%) have high school diplomas. In Tennessee (48%) and Missouri (54%) staffers are more likely to have a high school diploma and some college work than a college degree. Ten percent of staffers have either a graduate or a law degree, while one staff member from Wisconsin has both.

The average staff member in this study is thirty-seven years old. On average the oldest staffers are from Tennessee at an age of forty-three years, with Wisconsin having the youngest at an average age of thirty-two years old. The average age of staffers in Ohio and Missouri are thirty-four and forty years old respectively (See Table A.4).

The average personal staffer in these four states earns a yearly salary of $36,900 dollars. The lowest average salary for staffers in the four states is $30,900 dollars in Ohio, followed by Tennessee at $32,500 dollars. Missouri and Wisconsin tip the scales of average salary at $41,500 and $44,000 dollars respectively.

In addition to the demographic data on 186 staffers, I have more detailed data on the seventy-eight staffers who completed the surveys. In particular is information about experience as a legislative staff member. The average staff member in this study has served 7.3 years as a legislative staffer and has worked for her particular senator for 4.2 years. The longest average tenure is 9.2 years in Tennessee, while working for the current senator for 5.5 years. Ohio has the lowest tenure on average at 4.7 years and serving 2.7 years for the current senator. In Wisconsin, the average tenure is 8.8 years in the legislature and 4.9 years with the same senator. The average staffer in Missouri has served 3.9 years with the current legislator and 6.9 years overall.

Personal staffers are dedicated to their legislators. When asked to identify whether they were most loyal to the institution, senator, career, or constituents, eighty-two percent suggested that they were most loyal to their senator. In three of the four states in this study a minimum of eighty-four percent of staffers answered that their primary loyalty was with their current legislator. However, in Ohio, only sixty-eight percent identified their senator as the center of their loyalties. In Ohio eighteen percent suggested that their loyalties were to their career and not their senator. An additional nine percent suggested that their loyalties were with their constituents and

five percent said their loyalties were with the institution of the senate. Additionally eleven percent of respondents from Tennessee identified their loyalties with the institution.

The demographic data on the 78 respondents also reveals some interesting differences (See Table A.5). First, there appear to be differences between term limited and non-term limited states in staff experience. In the non-term limited states the average number of years experience for staffers is nine years. In the term limited states the average length of experience is 5.7 years. This difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 4.95$; $p \leq .05$).

The difference is also significant for experience with a current legislator (ANOVA; $F= 4.76$; $p \leq .05$). In non-term limited states the average staffer has worked for the same legislator for 5.2 years. In term limited states the average length of experience with a current senator is 3.2 years.

Staff members with less experience are more likely to be younger than staffers with more experience. The data confirm this expectation. The average age of respondents from non-term limited states is thirty-eight. In term limited states the average age is thirty-two. The difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 5.88$; $p \leq .05$).

There are also significant differences in experience and salary of staff members from the offices of male and female senators (See Table A.6). The average number of years of experience for staffers in the offices of male senators is 7.9 years. For staff of female senators the average is 4.7 years. Overall the average number years of experience for staffers is 7.2 years. Staff members of female senators appear to have

significantly less experience than staff members of male senators (ANOVA; F= 2.88; $p \leq .10$).

These differences also exist for experience with the current senator. Overall staffers have worked for their current senator for an average of 4.1 years. Staff members for female senators are below this average with an average tenure of 2.3 years. The average staffer for male senators has worked for the same senator for 4.6 years. Again, these differences are significant (ANOVA; F= 3.81; $p \leq .10$).

Although staff members of female senators appear to have less experience, it appears as if they may be better compensated than their counterparts in the offices of male senators. The average staffer's salary is $36,900 annually. The average salary of staffers of female senators is $41,400, while the average for staff members of male senators is $36,000. These differences are significant (ANOVA; F= 3.45; $p \leq .10$).

In addition to the differences found for term limits and gender, there are some significant differences between the offices of leaders and non-leaders. Personal staffers who work for institutional leaders tend to have higher salaries than those of non-leaders. Leadership staff members have an average salary of $41,200 annually, while non-leadership staff earn an average $36,000 dollars a year (ANOVA; F= 4.84; $p \leq .05$). In addition, institutional leaders tend to employ more female staff members than non-leaders. Leadership offices tend to have 2 female staffers, while the offices of non-leaders employ only 1.46 female staffers (ANOVA; F= 8.19; $p \leq .01$).

On average sixty-two percent of personal staffers have no experience as a staffer in other governmental institutions, or on legislative committees (See Table

A.7). In Tennessee fifty-five percent of staffers have no other institutional, nor committee experience. In Wisconsin the number is sixty-one percent. It is sixty-five percent and sixty-eight percent in Missouri and Ohio respectively.

Overall if personal staffers have additional experiences as a staff member, it is in another governmental institution. On average twenty-seven percent of staffers have experience as a staff member in another governmental institution. Roughly one-quarter of the staffers in Tennessee and Ohio have other institutional experience, whereas, nearly one-third of the staffers in Ohio and Wisconsin have other institutional experience.

Surprisingly only six percent of staffers have legislative committee experience. In Missouri and Tennessee, twelve and fifteen percent respectively have committee experience. None of the personal staff in my sample from Ohio have legislative committee experience. Eleven percent of the staff from Wisconsin and five percent from Tennessee have both committee and other institutional experience. It appears as if movement from committees to personal staffs does not occur very often.

B. What Are They Doing?

What are staffers in state legislative offices doing? The answer is shown in Figure 1, which displays the percentages of the total amount of work performed by legislative offices dedicated to each of the identified activities. What is most noticeable is the amount of time staffers spend performing constituency service. On average their offices spend thirty-six percent of their total work time on constituency

service. Clearly legislative offices view this as a very important duty, but what about other activities?

Although the largest single category of work that staffers perform is constituency service, sixty-four percent of their work time is dedicated to other activities. They spend fourteen percent of their work-time on committee work, thirteen percent on administrative work, twelve percent on preparing and assisting their legislator on the floor, eleven percent on working with lobbyists and interest groups, eight percent on public relations and the press, and five percent working with the executive branch. I believe this suggests that the "enterprise" concept can be appropriately used when thinking about staff in citizen-professional and professional legislatures.

Next are the differences between the citizen-professional and professional legislatures in the amount and types of work their legislative enterprises perform. Table B.1 displays the percentages of the total amount of work performed by legislative enterprises dedicated to each of the identified activities in which there was a significant difference between the two legislature classifications.

The first hypothesis is that legislative enterprises from professional legislatures will dedicate more of their time to constituency service than enterprises from citizen-professional legislatures. This hypothesis is supported. Enterprises from professional legislatures dedicate forty percent of their total amount of work time to constituency service, while enterprises from citizen-professional legislatures dedicate only thirty

percent of their work-time to constituency service. This difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 4.13$; $p \leq .05$).

I expected to find that citizen-professional enterprises would dedicate more of their time to committee work than professional enterprises. This does not appear to be the case. Each group spends approximately the same amount of time on committee work. Apparently, legislators from both types of institutions find it important to augment their committee resources with their own personal staff.

There is support for the hypothesis on administrative work. Citizen-professional enterprises dedicate sixteen percent of their total amount of work to administrative tasks, while professional enterprises dedicate only eleven percent of their work-time to these duties. This difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 3.51$; $p \leq .10$). There is also support for the hypothesis on preparing and assisting on the floor of the senate. Citizen-professional enterprises spend eighteen percent of their work time on this activity, while professional enterprises only spend eight percent of their time on this activity (ANOVA; $F= 24.65$; $p \leq .01$).

I expected to find that citizen-professional enterprises would be more dependent on outside sources of information and ideas because of their fewer numbers of staff and less resources. This appears to be the case in regards to working with the executive branch. Citizen-professional enterprises spend six percent of their time working with the executive, while professional enterprises spend only three percent of their time engaged in this activity. These differences are significant (ANOVA; $F= 6.05$; $p \leq .05$). Although citizen-professional enterprises (12 percent of their time)

appear to spend more time working with interest groups than professional enterprises (10 percent of their time), the difference is not significant.

Finally, in accordance with the hypothesis, professional enterprises spend more time (10 percent of their time) on public relations and the press than citizen professional enterprises (7 percent of their time). The difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 2.88$; $p\leq .10$). Apparently the extra staff and additional resources of professional legislatures allow senators to dedicate more of their staff to public relations and press issues. In addition, this may be necessitated by the "professionalism" of the institution.

The differences between institutions (citizen-professional and professional) suggest important implications for the representational process. Senators from both have the same job; they are expected to provide policy responsiveness, service responsiveness, allocative responsiveness, and symbolic responsiveness (Eulau and Karps 1977). However, senators from Wisconsin and Ohio have more staff and resources than senators from Missouri and Tennessee. Does this affect the quality of representation in these states?

These findings suggest that it does. In general the legislative enterprises in the citizen-professional states spend less time working on constituency service and more time on administrative tasks and preparing their legislator for the floor of the senate than the enterprises of professional legislatures. Perhaps the extra preparation for the floor will result in better representation, but I am confident that less time dedicated to

constituent needs and more time on administrative tasks does not improve the representational experience.

Table B.2 highlights these differences. It shows the mean number of staff, the mean number of hours that staffers work, and projected staff hours. On average, the enterprises of citizen professional legislatures have 1.92 staffers, while enterprises of professional legislatures have 3.05. This difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 32.18$; $p \leq .01$). Both groups of staff are equally hard working as evidenced by the average number of hours worked each week. Citizen-professional staffers work about fifty-one hours a week and professional staffers work about fifty hours a week (The difference is not significant). Multiplying the average number of hours worked in a week by the average number of staff provides a hypothetical number of "projected staff hours."

So, the citizen-professional enterprise has about ninety-seven staff hours per week to work on constituency service, committee work, preparing and assisting on the floor, working with interest groups, the press, the governor, and administrative work. On the other hand, enterprises in professional legislatures have about 153 staff hours (56 more hours than the citizen-professional enterprise) to accomplish the same tasks. I believe this highlights real differences and emphasizes the importance of understanding the role of staff in state legislatures.

C. Activities of Personal Staff

This section details the different activities of personal staff. The staff members completing the survey were asked to estimate how often full time personal staff members in their office were engaged in the listed activities. Their choices were: 1 = yearly, 2 = monthly, 3 = weekly, 4 = daily, and 5 = hourly (there was also a choice for not applicable). I provide explanations using qualitative descriptions (hourly, yearly, etc…), but also treat the answers as continuous variables for purposes of significance testing with ANOVA. These findings help develop an understanding of the types of activities that personal staff perform and how often. If staffers are frequently engaged in many different activities, it suggests that the legislative "enterprise" concept can be appropriately applied in the states. I detail each of the activities and report any differences across institutions. Afterwards I test for differences in term limits, leader, party, committee chair, and gender.

The first question asks how often personal staffers are engaged with their senator in committee activities. The mean score for personal staff is 3.3 (5 point scale, 3.3 is between 3-weekly and 4-daily). It appears as though personal staff in citizen-professional legislatures work with their senators in committee more often than staff in professional legislatures. The average score for citizen-professional staff is 3.51, while the average score for professional staff is 3.1. This difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 8.55$; $p \leq .05$).

Table C.1 provides a qualitative breakdown of this information by state. The modal category for all four states is "weekly." Although larger percentages of staffers

in Ohio (77%) and Wisconsin (82%) report that they work "weekly" with their senator in committee than staffers in Tennessee (53%) and Missouri (56%), a much higher percentage of Tennessee (42%) and Missouri (38%) staffers report working in committee on a "daily" basis than Ohio (9%) and Wisconsin (6%) staffers. It appears as though citizen-professional staff members work with their senators in committee more frequently than staffers from professional legislatures.

The next question asks how frequently personal staff work with committee staff. Staffers report a mean score of 3.3. Staff members in citizen-professional states appear to work with committee staff more often than staff in professional legislatures. Citizen-professional staffers have an average score of 3.5 and professional staffers have an average score of 3.11. This difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 5.05$; $p \leq .05$).

The qualitative breakdown of the data by state appears to confirm that citizen-professional staffers work more frequently with committee staff than staffers from professional legislatures (See Table C.2). The modal category for al of the states except for Missouri is "working with committee staff" "weekly." A majority of Missouri (53%) staffers report working with Committee staff "daily." Larger percentages of Tennessee (37%) and Missouri (53%) staff members appear to work with committee staff "daily" than Ohio (16%) and Wisconsin (31%) staffers.

There appears to be no difference across institutions in how frequently personal staff work with staff from other offices. The mean score for staff from citizen-professional legislatures is 3.68, while the mean score for staff from

professional legislatures is 3.63. The modal category for each state is "daily" (See Table C.3). Tennessee actually has two modal categories. In addition to working with other staff on a "daily" basis, forty-five percent of Tennessee staffers report working with other staff on a "weekly" basis. In general the data suggest that personal staffers work with staff from other offices "daily," if not that frequently they work with them "weekly." Interestingly a small percentage of staffers from each state report working with other staff "hourly."

There is also a significant difference across institutions and the frequency that personal staffers work with other senators (ANOVA; $F= 12.27$; $p \leq .01$). Citizen-professional staffers appear to work with other senators more frequently that staff from professional legislatures. Citizen-professional staff members have a mean score of 3.59, while staffers from professional legislatures have mean score of 3.05. The average score for all personal staffers is 3.31.

The modal category for staff from professional legislatures is "weekly" and the modal category for citizen-professional staff is "daily" (See Table C.4). It appears as if staff in Tennessee and Missouri work more frequently with other senators than staff from Wisconsin or Ohio. Forty-seven percent of staffers in Tennessee and fifty-six percent of staffers in Missouri report working with other senators on a daily basis. Only thirty-two percent of Ohio staffers and twenty-two percent of Wisconsin staffers report working with other senators on a daily basis. In addition a few staff members from Tennessee and Missouri report working with other senators on an "hourly" basis,

while no senators from Ohio and Wisconsin report working with other senators with that frequency.

There does not appear to be a difference in the frequency that personal staffers in the senate work with members of the lower chamber. It appears as though staffers from the Senate work with legislators in the House on a "weekly" basis (See Table C.5). The modal category for all staffers (57%) is "weekly." Although not significantly different more staffers from Tennessee and Missouri report working with House members on a "daily" basis, while more staffers from Ohio and Wisconsin report working with House members on a "monthly" basis. It appears as though all staffers work with House members frequently, but staffers from citizen-professional legislatures may do it more frequently than staffers from professional legislatures.

As with working with House members it appears as if there is no significant difference across institutions and the frequency personal staff members work with House staff (See Table C.6). Forty-seven percent of staffers report working with House staff on a weekly basis. "Weekly" is the modal category for staff from all of the states except for Missouri. Staffers from Missouri report working with House staff on a "monthly" basis as their modal category. In Tennessee and Wisconsin personal staffers appear to have the most contact with House staffers with seventy-nine percent of Tennessee staffers and eighty-nine percent of Wisconsin staffers reporting that they work with House staff on either a "weekly or daily" basis.

There appears to be no significant differences among legislatures and the amount of time staffers spend on writing speeches and floor remarks for their senator.

Staffers from citizen-professional legislatures have a mean score of 2.38, while staffers from professional legislatures have a mean score of 2.68. The overall score of all staffers is 2.58.

However, this is the first category that a sizeable portion of staffers chose the "not applicable" answer. This suggests that in nineteen of the seventy-eight offices represented in this section staffers do not engage in writing speeches and floor remarks for their legislator. Interestingly staffers in Tennessee and Missouri account for eighty-nine percent of the "not applicable" responses, with Tennessee accounting for sixty percent. Although there appears to be no differences in the frequency of staffers writing speeches, it appears as though staffers in Missouri and especially Tennessee are less likely to be writing speeches and floor remarks for their legislators than staffers in Ohio and Wisconsin.

Although the difference is not statistically significant it appears as though staffers from professional legislatures engage in writing speeches and floor remarks more frequently than staff members from the citizen-professional states (See Table C.7). The modal category for Ohio (48%) and Wisconsin (59%) staffers is "weekly," while the modal category for Missouri (50%) staffers is "monthly." Staffers from Tennessee have two modal categories. Their percentages (33%) are evenly divided between "monthly and weekly." A few staffers from Tennessee and Missouri report writing speeches and floor remarks on a "yearly" basis, while no staffers from Ohio and Wisconsin report writing speeches that infrequently. A small percentage of staffers from all states report writing speeches and floor remarks on a "daily" basis.

There appears to be no difference in the frequency that personal staffers spend researching legislation. The mean score for all staff members is 3.70, while the score for staff from professional legislatures is also 3.70 and the score from staff from citizen-professional staffers is only nominally higher at 3.71.

Forty-five percent of personal staffers engage in research on legislation on a "daily" basis, with the next highest category (37%) being on a "weekly" basis (See Table C.8). Tennessee staffers again have two modal categories. Staffers from there are evenly split (37%) between "weekly and daily" basis. The modal category for staffers from Missouri (60%) and Wisconsin (56%) is "daily." The modal category for Ohio staffers is "weekly." Fifteen percent of all staffers report engaging on research for legislation on an "hourly" basis.

There is a significant difference between legislative professionalism and the frequency of personal staffers meeting with lobbyists. Staff members from the four institutions in this study report meeting with lobbyists quite frequently, with a mean score of 3.64. Citizen-professional staff members appear to meet more frequently with lobbyists and have a mean score of 3.91, while professional staffers have a mean score ofa3.40 (ANOVA; $F= 10.49$; $p \leq .01$).

The qualitative breakdown by state confirms these findings. It appears that personal staff members in Tennessee and Missouri meet much more frequently with lobbyists than do staff members in Ohio and Wisconsin (See Table C.9 below). Interestingly the modal category for Tennessee (65%) and Missouri (67%) is "daily" and the modal category for Ohio (59%) and Wisconsin (56%) is "weekly." In

addition, roughly seventeen percent of staffers from Tennessee and Missouri report meeting with lobbyists on an "hourly" basis, but only five percent of Ohio staffers and none of the staff members from Wisconsin report meeting with lobbyists "daily." It is clear that personal staff in Tennessee and Missouri have much more frequent contact with lobbyists than staffers in Ohio and Wisconsin.

Staff members do not appear to engage in oversight activities that frequently when compared to other activities. Overall staffers report an average score of 2.84. Citizen-professional staffers (2.96) appear to be engaged in the activity slightly more frequently than professional staff (2.71), but the difference is not significant. Staffers from twenty-two of the seventy-eight offices chose the "not applicable" category suggesting that they do not engage in this activity ever. The number of offices from each state choosing "not applicable" in this category is: 5 from Tennessee, 5 from Missouri, 9 from Ohio, and 3 from Wisconsin.

The qualitative breakdown by state suggests that there may be some differences by state and the offices that are engaged in this activity. The data in Table C.10 suggest that personal staff members in citizen-professional legislatures may be more likely to engage in oversight activity than staffers from professional legislatures. The modal categories for Tennessee (34%) and Missouri (54%) are "daily and weekly" respectively, while the modal category for both Ohio (54%) and Wisconsin (40%) is "monthly."

As expected staffers engage in "handling constituency issues" quite frequently. Moreover, there appears to be no differences across legislatures. The overall average

score and the scores for both citizen-professional and professional legislatures is 4.53. The qualitative breakdown by state shows the importance of this activity (See Table C.11). Over ninety percent of staff members from all four states are engaged in this activity on a "daily" or "hourly" basis, with the modal category for each state being "hourly."

There appears to be a difference between institutional professionalism and the frequency personal staff members meet with constituents. Overall staff members have a mean score of 3.39. Citizen-professional staffers meet with constituents more frequently with an average score of 3.64; the average score for professional staffers is 3.15. These differences are significant (ANOVA; $F= 5.41$; $p \leq .05$).

The qualitative breakdown delineates the differences more clearly. The data clearly suggest there are differences (See Table C.12). Staff members from citizen-professional legislatures appear to meet more frequently with constituents than staffer from professional legislatures. The modal category for Tennessee (40%) and Missouri (38%) is "daily," with sixty percent of Tennessee staffers and fifty-seven percent of Missouri staffers reporting either "daily or hourly" meetings with constituents. On the other hand, the modal category for Ohio (57%) and Wisconsin (56%) staffers is "weekly."

There appears to be no significant differences among institutions and the frequency that personal staff work on "activities related to the press." The overall average score of personal staffers is 3.24, with citizen-professional staff members appearing to work less frequently with the press with an average score of 3.09. Staff

members from professional legislatures appear to work more frequently with the press with an average score of 3.38.

The qualitative breakdown by state suggests some interesting differences (See Table C.13). Still, there appears to be differences, especially for staffers in Wisconsin, who work with the press and on press issues more frequently than staff members from other states. Sixty-nine percent of staff in Tennessee, seventy-eight percent in Missouri, seventy-seven percent in Ohio, and all of the staffers from Wisconsin work on press issues on either a "weekly or daily" basis. The modal category for Tennessee (44%), Missouri (61%), and Ohio (41%) is "weekly," while staffers from Wisconsin (50%) are evenly divided between "weekly and daily."

There are no significant differences among institutions and the frequency that personal staffers attend meetings for their senator. The average score for all staffers is 3.20. The average score for citizen-professional staffers is slightly lower at 3.10, while the score for professional staffers is a little higher at 3.28.

The qualitative breakdown by state shows how frequently staff members "attend meetings" for their senator (See Table C.14). In general a majority of staffers in all the states attend meetings on a "weekly or daily" basis. Fifty-six percent of the staffers in Tennessee, seven-seven percent in Missouri, seventy-eight percent in Ohio, and eighty-nine percent of staffers in Wisconsin attend "weekly or daily" meetings for their legislator.

Although approaching significance the difference between institutional professionalism and the frequency of personal staff "campaigning in an election year"

is not significant. The average score for all personal staff members is 2.68. The mean score for personal staffers from professional legislatures is 2.46 and is 3.15 for citizen-professional staff. It appears as though staffers from citizen-professional staffers may be campaigning more, but this could be misleading. Many staffers from Tennessee (65%) and Missouri (66%) chose the "not applicable" category for this question, while only eighteen percent of staffers from Ohio chose "not applicable" and forty-four percent of Wisconsin staffers chose similarly. Clearly it is not a common activity for staffers in Tennessee and Missouri to work on campaigns and the few who do appear to be the exception to the rule.

Looking at the qualitative breakdown by state helps to clarify this data (See Table C.15). Of the thirty-five percent of staff from Tennessee involved in campaigning, fifty-eight percent of them do so quite frequently on a "daily or hourly" basis. The modal category for the thirty-four percent of Missouri staffers involved in campaigning is "weekly," which is also the modal category for the sixty-six percent of Wisconsin staffers involved in campaigning. Although over eighty percent of Ohio staffers are involved in campaigning, sixty-one percent of those do so infrequently on a "monthly or yearly" basis. It appears as though personal staffers are not overly involved in campaigning for their senator.

The next question asks how frequently personal staff are engaged in fundraising. Like the previous question many staffers chose the "not applicable" category. Even fewer staffers are involved in fundraising than are involved in campaigning. Except for Ohio a sizable majority of all personal staff members are not

involved in fundraising. Although sixty-eight percent of Ohio staffers report engaging in fundraising activities, seventy-four percent of these report being engaged in fundraising infrequently on a "yearly or monthly" basis.

There appears to be little difference in the frequency personal staffers from different institutions work with local governments. The average score for all staffers is 2.86. Staff members from citizen-professional legislatures have an average score of 2.91 and professional staff members have an average score of 2.82. This difference is not significant.

The qualitative breakdown by state shows how frequently staff members in each state are engaged in this activity (See Table C.16). "Weekly" is the modal category for every state except for Wisconsin, which has "monthly" as its modal category. A few staff members from each state report "working with local governments" on a "daily and monthly" basis. One staffer from Missouri reports working with local governments "hourly" and two from Tennessee report doing so on a "yearly" basis.

As with working with local governments there appears to be no differences across institutions and the frequency that personal staffers work with the federal government. The average score for personal staffers is 2.40. Citizen-professional staffers may work with the federal government more frequently with an average score of 2.47, while the average score for personal staff members from professional legislatures is 2.33. This difference is not statistically significant.

The qualitative breakdown of the data by state shows how frequently personal staffers work with the federal government (See Table C.17 below). Staffers from Tennessee have two modal categories. Ninety-percent of Tennessee staff members identified the frequency they work with the federal government as either "monthly or weekly." The modal category for Missouri staffers (50%) is "monthly." Like Tennessee, Ohio has two modal categories. Over ninety-percent of Ohio staff members reported that they work with the federal government on either a "monthly or weekly" basis. The modal category for Wisconsin staff members (67%) is "monthly." In general, the majority of staffers report working with the federal government "monthly," with just over a third identifying "weekly" as the frequency they work with the federal government.

In addition to testing for differences across legislatures, I tested for differences in term limited and non-term limited states, staff of leaders and non-leaders, gender (staff of male and female senators), party, and committee chairs and non-chairs. In general, there were not any significant differences in these categories. The few exceptions are discussed below.

There was a significant difference between the personal staff of leaders and non-leaders working with committee staff (ANOVA; $F= 3.14$; $p \leq .10$). As should be expected, staff of institutional leaders work more frequently with committee staff than the personal staff of non-leaders. The average score for all staff (on the 5 point scale) is 3.32. Leadership staff members have an average score of 3.59, while the average score of staff of non-leaders is 3.24. In general a plurality of staff members of leaders

(47%) and non-leaders (45%) identify working with committee staff "weekly." However, more leadership staffers (42%) report working with committee staff "daily and hourly" than non-leadership staffers (32%).

Another significant difference is the frequency that personal staff members of committee chairs and non-chairs work with committee staff (ANOVA; $F= 6.26$; $p \leq .05$). Since they are in charge of committees it is expected that personal staffers of committee chairs would be working with committee staff more frequently. It appears that they do. The average score for all staffers is 3.32. The average score for staffers of committee chairs is 3.60, while the average score of non-committee chair staff members is 3.16. Fifty-one percent of non-committee chair personal staff members report working with committee staff "weekly," while fifty percent of committee chair personal staffers report working with committee staff "daily or hourly."

The last area of significant difference is between the staff of female and male senators and the frequency they meet with lobbyists. The average score for all staffers is 3.65. Personal staffers of male senators report an average score of 3.74, while the average score of staffers of female senators is 3.31. This difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 4.54$; $p < .05$). Sixty-six percent of staffers of male senators report meeting with lobbyists "daily" (55%) or "hourly" (10%), while seventy-five percent of staffers of female senators report working with lobbyists "weekly" (38%) or "daily" (38%).

This section has detailed the types and frequency of work of personal staffers. It shows that staffers work with staff from other offices, research legislation, and meet

with lobbyists on a daily basis. Personal staffers also work with their senator in committees, with committee staff, other senators, house members, house staff, write speeches and floor remarks, work on oversight, meet with constituents, work on press activities, attend meetings for their senator, work on campaigning, and work with local governments on a weekly basis. Lastly, personal staffers are working on constituency issues on a daily basis. The amount and frequency of work on various activities and with various actors in the legislative process demonstrates the applicability of the legislative "enterprise" in the states under study.

D. Working Relationships of Personal Staff

Staff members were asked to evaluate working relationships with the people they encounter in their roles as a personal staffer. It also highlights the myriad of different people staffers must work with in performing their jobs in the legislature, which provides credence for the legislative "enterprise" concept in the state legislatures. This illustrates that personal staff are not only involved with constituents and people in their immediate office, but also committee staff members, other staffers and legislators in both houses, other people in different areas of government, lobbyists and the press. I highlight differences across legislatures, followed by a discussion of differences by term limits, institutional leader, party, committee chair, and gender.

Staffers were asked to rate the quality of their relationships on a five-point scale as follows: 1= very bad, 2= bad, 3= neither bad/good, 4= good, and 5= very good. Most of the working relationships that personal staffers have appear to be good.

In almost every category at least seventy percent of staff rate their working relationships as either "good" or "very good." In most instances even larger percentages of staff rated their relationships as either "good" or "very good." In general there was no differences between citizen-professional and professional legislatures in the quality of their staff members' working relationships. However, there are some important exceptions.

First is the difference in the quality of working relationships between personal staff and committee staff. Although generally pretty good, there are differences between the legislatures. Staffers from citizen-professional legislatures appear to have better relationships with committee staff than staff members from professional legislatures. The mean score for citizen-professional staffers is 4.62 and the mean score for professional staffers is 4.23. This difference is statistically significant (ANOVA; $F= 6.93$; $p \leq .01$).

I must point out that none of the staff rated their relationship with committee staff members as bad, but there is a clear difference between the states in the quality of the relationships of their personal and committee staff members (See Table D.1). The modal category for Tennessee (75%) and Missouri (54%) staffers is "very good," while the modal category for Ohio (56%) and Wisconsin (75%) staffers is "good."

Another area of difference is in the quality of working relationships with other senators. Again, although in general the quality of relationships with other senators is good, there is a statistically significant difference between the legislatures (ANOVA; $F= 4.07$; $p \leq .05$). The average rating of staffers from citizen-professional legislatures

is 4.32, while the average score for personal staff from professional legislatures is 4.0. The overall average is 4.15. It appears that staff members from citizen-professional legislatures are more likely to have "very good" working relationships with other senators that staff from professional legislatures.

Table D.2 breaks the findings down into qualitative categories. It appears as though staffers in Tennessee have better relationships with other senators than staffers from other states. Fifty percent of Tennessee staffers report that the quality of their working relationships with other senators is "very good." Although not as high as in Tennessee, more Missouri staffers (39%) report that their relationships are "very good" than staffers from the remaining states. Still, except for those from Tennessee, the modal category for all staffers is "good." In addition, eighteen percent of all staffers report their relationships with other senators are "neither good or bad," with twenty-eight percent of staffers from Wisconsin falling into this category. Since there was a category for not applicable, which none of the staffers chose, this indicates that overall, nearly one-fifth of staffers have neutral relationships with others legislators in the senate.

There are also differences across institutions with the working relationships of personal staff and executive branch staff. Staff relationships are not as "good" with executive staff as they are with some of the other staff and legislators highlighted so far. The average staff rating is 3.71 for working relationships with executive staff. Citizen-professional staffers rate their relationships with executive staff at 3.91, while

professional staffers have an average rating of 3.53. This difference is significant (ANOVA; F= 3.45; $p \leq .10$).

The qualitative breakdown of these findings shows the first reports of negative working relationships (See Table D.3). In Tennessee, staff members (35%) are evenly divided between "good" and "very good," with ten percent reporting their working relationships with executive staff are "very bad." The modal categories for staff from Missouri (47%) and Wisconsin (50%) are "good." Although, more staff from Missouri (29%) than from Wisconsin (6%) report that their working relationships are "very good." In addition, forty-five percent of staffers in Wisconsin report that their working relationships are "neutral, bad, or very bad." This is more than any other group. The modal category for Ohio (50%) is "neither bad or good." These findings suggest that staff in citizen-professional legislatures have better relationships with executive staff than staff from professional legislatures.

Another area where there is a difference in the quality of working relationships among institutions is the relationships that personal staffers have with the federal government. Personal staff members rate their relationships with the federal government as a 3.65. Staff members from citizen-professional legislatures rate their relationships at 3.88, while staffers in professional legislatures rate their relationships as 3.45. This difference is statistically significant (ANOVA; F= 5.29; $p \leq .05$).

The qualitative breakdown of these findings in Table D.4 suggests that the working relationships of personal staff with the federal government are better in citizen-professional legislatures than professional legislatures. In Tennessee, thirty-

nine percent of staff and twenty-five percent of staff in Missouri report that their relationships are "very good" with the federal government. On the other hand, only ten percent in Ohio and six percent in Wisconsin report "very good relationships." Although fewer staff in Ohio report "very good" relationships than staff in Tennessee and Missouri, the modal category for Ohio staffers is still "good." The big difference comes from Wisconsin. The modal category for staffers from Wisconsin (65%) is "neither bad or good," with twelve percent reporting that their working relationships with the federal government as "bad." No other staff members report a "bad" relationship with the federal government.

In addition to testing for differences among institutions, I also tested for differences in term limits, institutional leader, party, committee chair, and gender. In general there were no differences for these variables. However, the one exception was for gender and working relationship with senator. As stated earlier the working relationships between personal staff and senators are generally pretty good. Staffers rate the quality of their relationships with their senators as a 4.88 on a five-point scale. Although still high, staff members who work for female senators rated their relationships significantly lower than staffers who work for male senators (ANOVA; $F= 6.31$; $p \leq .01$).

Staff members who work for male senators rate their working relationships as a 4.93, while staffers that work for female senators rate their working relationships as a 4.69. Ninety-three percent of staffers who work for male senators rate their relationships as "very good," but only seventy-five percent of staffers employed by

female senators rate their relationships as "very good." Still all working relationships between personal staff and senator appear to be pretty good, but male senators appear to have "better" relationships with their personal staff. This may be a function of time. As shown earlier female senators appear to have staff of less tenure and may not have had time to develop "very good" relationships with them. On the other hand, male senators have been working with their staff members for longer, which may result in a higher quality of relationships.

This section has detailed the quality of working relationships for personal staffers. It shows that personal staffers generally have good relationships with other actors in and out of the legislature. Although generally good, more staffers report neutral or bad relationships with executive staff and the federal government. These findings highlight who staffers are working with, which provides evidence for the idea of legislative enterprises in the states.

E. Office Organization

This study uses the typology for office organization outlined in Fox and Hammond (1977). They divide office organization into three categories, hierarchical, coordinative, and individualistic. A top down office structure characterizes the hierarchical office. The legislator is at the top of the pyramid. Larger offices will have a Chief of Staff. Job levels and descriptions are clearly demarcated. The legislator provides direction and the staff follow the senator's lead.

The coordinative office is a loosely organized hierarchy. The legislator, and if there is a Chief of Staff, are still at the top, but the lines of power and job descriptions are not as clearly demarcated. The legislator provides direction, but ideas may also come from staffers.

The last category is the individualistic office. In these offices all have access to the legislator. Staff members operate independently and coordinate matters with each other. Direction and ideas come from the group following the guidance of the legislator.

A delineation of office organization may be more appropriate at the national level since the offices are much larger. Still, state legislative offices must also be organized, even though the average office from my sample only has 2.4 staff members. Wisconsin has the highest average numbers of staff per office at 3.7, followed by Ohio at 2.7. Missouri and Tennessee have 1.7 and 1.9 staffers per office respectively. Accordingly I would expect Ohio and Wisconsin to be more likely to have hierarchical and coordinative offices, whereas, Missouri and Tennessee should be more likely to have individualistic and coordinative offices.

The data appear to support this assumption (See Table E.1). The modal category for office organization in citizen-professional legislatures is the individualistic office. Forty-seven percent of the offices in Tennessee and Missouri have individualistic organizations (29% coordinative and 18% hierarchical). This is expected, as these offices tend to be smaller on average. The modal category for office organization from the professional legislatures is coordinative. Fifty-eight

percent of the offices from Ohio and Wisconsin are organized in a coordinative structure (23% individualistic and 18% hierarchical). Again this is expected given that these offices tend to have more people than the offices from the citizen-professional legislatures.

These findings are supported by the findings on autonomy (See Table E.2). Staffers were asked to rate their level of autonomy on a scale from 1 (no autonomy) to 7 (complete autonomy). On this scale the average for all staffers was 5.26. This suggests that personal staffers tend to have more rather than less autonomy. However, in line with their more individualistic office organizations, staffers from Tennessee and Missouri tend to have more autonomy than staffers from Ohio and Wisconsin, who are more likely to work in coordinative offices. The average score of autonomy for citizen-professional staffers is 5.59 and the average score for staffers from professional legislatures is 4.95 (the difference is significant, ANOVA; $F= 6.89$; $p \leq .01$).

Another organizational question is whether the offices have a Chief of Staff. Staffers were asked to identify whether their office had a Chief of Staff, the role without the title, or none at all. The modal category for each of the states reveals significant differences (See Table E.2). In Tennessee sixty-five percent of the offices report no Chief of Staff (30% report role without title and 5% have a Chief of Staff). Fifty-six percent of the offices in Missouri report "role without the title" (44% have no Chief of Staff and none have a Chief of Staff). In Ohio, seventy-three percent of the offices report having the chief of staff role without the title (23% report no Chief of

Staff and 5% have a Chief of Staff). Finally, eighty-three percent of the offices from Wisconsin report having a Chief of Staff (11% report role without the title and 6% have no Chief of Staff).

Since Tennessee has fewer personal staffers it makes sense that few of its offices have a Chief of Staff. On the other hand, all Wisconsin offices have at least three personal staffers. In these larger offices a Chief of Staff may be more important. This helps to explain why eighty-three percent of these offices have a Chief of Staff. The modal category for the remaining two states is the "Chief of Staff role, without the title."

Only thirty-one percent of the senators have district offices. When compared by legislature classification it appears that senators from citizen-professional legislatures are more likely to have district offices than senators from professional legislatures. Forty-five percent of senators from citizen-professional legislatures have district offices, while only eighteen percent of senators from professional legislatures have district offices. However, when the data are disaggregated, the trends become less clear (See Table E.3)

I had expected that senators from Ohio and Wisconsin would be more likely to have district offices, but this does not appear to be the case. In particular only nine percent of senators from Ohio have district offices. Except for Missouri it appears as though resources are not dedicated to district offices. The difference between Missouri and the other states are partly due to structural design. Donlin and Weberg

(1999) report that Missouri state senators' budget explicitly includes funds for rent on "district offices." This is not the case for the other states.

Offices in professional legislatures are more likely to have a staff member whose only duties are to deal with constituency issues. Fifty-eight percent of these offices have a staffer dedicated to constituency issues, while only eighteen percent of the citizen-professional offices have a staff member dedicated to constituency issues. See Table E.4 for a breakdown by state.

Interestingly, although only a few Ohio senators have district offices, seventy-three percent have a personal staff member dedicated to only constituency issues. Ohio senate districts have larger populations than the districts of the other three states; this may help to explain the need for a dedicated staffer for constituency issues. Not surprisingly, with their smaller numbers of staff, less than one-quarter of the offices in Tennessee (15%) and Missouri (22%) have staff members dedicated to constituency issues.

In general there appears to be no differences among the numbers of senators who have committee staff assigned to them in addition to their personal staffers. At the congressional level committee staffers assigned to a member are considered a part of their congressional "enterprise." On average only twenty-three percent of senators have additional committee staff assigned to them. This may help to explain why fourteen percent of all the work legislative offices perform is dedicated to committee work (See section B above on the Work of Legislative Enterprises). In addition, sixty-

four percent of the offices report working with their senator in committee on a weekly basis.

Only six percent of the offices report having a staff member dedicated to public relations and press activities. There appear to be no differences across thet states. Although few offices have a dedicated press person, forty-six percent of the offices report dealing with the "press" on a weekly basis. There is even more contact with the press in the professional legislatures. Forty-three percent of these offices report dealing with the press on a daily basis.

That most offices are coordinative, or individualistic, with most staffers reporting high levels autonomy, shows that staffers in general are capable individuals handling a myriad of tasks for legislators. These findings, along with the other findings of this section, provide evidence that legislative enterprises are at work in the states. Staffers work in many areas. Although they are dedicated to constituency issues, the majority of their work is focused on other activities, such as researching legislation, working with their senator in committee, meeting with lobbyists, and working on administrative tasks.

F. What Are Their Role Orientations?

Are personal staffers of state legislators entrepreneurs, technicos, politicos, or representatives? The results (see Figure 2 Appendix B) suggest that most personal staffers have a "technico" approach to their jobs. When asked to rank from "most important" to "least important," fifty-one percent of personal staffers ranked

"technico" as the most important approach to their jobs. Thirty-three percent of staffers ranked "representative" as most important, twenty-four percent ranked "entrepreneur" as most important, and twenty-one percent ranked "politico" as highest in importance.[4]

As expected it is clear that a majority of staffers approach their jobs with a "technico" orientation (the traditional, neutral professional approach). Although the "entrepreneur" and "politico" orientations have been hypothesized to be on the rise in Congress, they appear to be less important in the four states in this study. The surprise is that thirty-three percent of staffers identified a "representative" orientation as a "most important" approach to their jobs. That staffers may think of themselves as "representatives" has not been suggested before.

What about differences between institutional variables? Are staffers in citizen-professional legislatures different than staff in professional legislatures? The findings show that the only significant difference across states is the percentage of staffers identifying "representative" as a "most important" approach (see Table F.1). Personal staffers (47%) from citizen-professional legislatures are significantly more likely than staff members from professional legislatures (21%) to identify "representative" as a "most important" orientation to their jobs (ANOVA; $F= 6.35$; $p\leq .05$).

As hypothesized more staff from professional legislatures (28%) appear to be "entrepreneurs" than staff from citizen-professional legislatures (18%), but the

[4] Some staffers ranked two orientations as being "most important." For example, some staffers ranked "technico" and "representative" as being the most important approaches to their jobs.

difference is not significant. There is also no significant differences between staffers choosing "technico" and "politico" orientations. Interestingly, the modal category for staffers from professional legislatures is "technico" (55%), while findings for staff from citizen-professional legislatures have two modal categories, "technico" and "representative" (both at 47%). In addition, there were no differences between staff from term-limited and non-term-limited states, no differences between staff of Democrats and Republicans, and no differences between staff of leaders and non-leaders.

What about differences among the states? Table F.2 shows the findings for each state. Again, it appears that the only differences are for the role orientation "representative." Staffers in Missouri (41%) and Tennessee (53%) are more likely than staffers from Ohio (23%) and Wisconsin (18%) to identify "representative" as a "most important" approach to their jobs.

Since staffers were asked to rank the orientations in order of importance (1 = most important and 4 = least important), I was also interested in whether there was an approach that consistently ranked second. If staffers are consistently ranking an orientation as second, it may suggest that it has been, or is becoming more important. Therefore I reclassified the variables. If an orientation was ranked either first or second it was classified as a "more important" approach. If it was ranked either third or fourth, it was classified as "less important." The findings are reported in Table F.3.

Again, there appears to be a difference between the staffs of citizen-professional and professional legislatures in the classification as "entrepreneur" as a

"more important" approach. However, the difference is not significant, but it is in the hypothesized direction. There is also no significant difference between legislative classification and choice of "technico" as a "more important" approach, although the difference is in the hypothesized direction.

Interestingly, the reclassification allows a difference to be discovered between those that identified "politico" as a "more important" approach. More staff from professional (55%) than staff from citizen-professional legislatures (34%) identified "politico" as a "more important' approach (ANOVA; $F= 3.29$; $p\leq .10$). This supports the hypothesis that staff members from professional states are more likely than staff from citizen-professional states to identify with the role orientation "politico." Also, there is a significant difference between those who classified "representative" as a "more important" orientation (ANOVA; $F= 10.96$; $p\leq .01$). Staffers from citizen-professional (89%) states are more likely than staff from professional states (56%) to classify "representative" as important.

The differences across states are shown in Table F.4. This highlights an important difference between the states. For Tennessee and Missouri (the citizen-professional states) the modal category for "more important" approaches is "representative," while the modal category for Ohio and Wisconsin (the professional states) is "technico." Also, the difference is significant for those who identify "representative" as "more important." It is clear that Missouri and Tennessee staffers value "representative" as an approach more than staffers from Ohio and Wisconsin. In addition, it is clear that the "politico" orientation is more important in the professional

states, Wisconsin and Ohio, than in the citizen-professional states of Missouri and Tennessee.

G. Ideas, Policy, Reelection, and Representation

The following section describes the importance given by personal staffers to initiating ideas for legislation, providing neutral policy assistance, helping with reelection, and giving citizens a voice. Each of these categories correlates with a specific role orientation. Initiating ideas for legislation is consistent with an "entrepreneurial" orientation, neutral policy assistance is related to a "technico" orientation, helping with reelection is indicative of a "politico" orientation, and giving citizens a voice suggests a "representative" orientation. Staff members were asked to rank the importance of these activities on a seven-point scale (0 = not important and 7 = very important). I test for differences between citizen-professional and professional legislatures. I also collapse the variables to provide some additional descriptive information (1&2 = not important; 3,4, &5 = somewhat important; 6&7 = important). At the end of the section I identify any significant differences for term limits, leaders, party, gender, and committee chair.

"Initiating ideas for legislation" appears to be less important to the job of personal staffers in the citizen professional legislatures than those in professional legislatures. Staffers from citizen-professional legislatures have an average score of 3.95 on the seven-point scale of importance, while staffers from professional legislatures have an average score of 4.83. Overall the average score is 4.40. These

differences are statistically significant (ANOVA; $F= 5.65$; $p \leq .05$) and suggest that "initiating ideas for legislation," or an "entrepreneurial" orientation is not as important to the job of personal staffers in Tennessee and Missouri than it is for staffers in Wisconsin and Ohio. (See Table G.1 for mean scores on seven-point scale by state for initiating ideas, neutral policy assistance, reelection, and giving citizens a voice).

Collapsing this variable into three categories as outlined above helps to delineate the differences between the states (See Table G.2). "Initiating ideas" is at least "somewhat important" for staff in all four states. This is the modal category for all staff. In Tennessee and Missouri fifty-five percent and fifty-six percent of staffers respectively rate "initiating ideas" as "somewhat important." Even higher percentage staffers in Ohio (63.6%) and Wisconsin (66.7%) rate it as "somewhat important."

In addition, staffers in Ohio (27.3%) and Wisconsin (27.8%) rate "initiating ideas" as "important," while only twenty percent of staffers in Tennessee and eleven percent of staffers in Missouri rate it as important. On the other hand, one-quarter of the staff members in Tennessee and one-third of staffers from Missouri rate "initiating ideas" as "not important," but only nine percent and six percent of the staffers from Ohio and Wisconsin respectively rate it as "not important." This suggests that staffers in professional legislatures are more likely than staffers from citizen-professional legislatures to be involved in the legislative process as exemplified by the "entrepreneurial" behavior of initiating ideas for legislation.

Neutral policy assistance is important for staff in both types of legislatures. The mean score for staff of citizen-professional legislatures is 5.42 (on a seven-point

scale of importance) and 4.58 for staff in professional legislatures. Overall the average is 4.97. These differences are statistically significant (ANOVA; $F= 5.44; p \leq .05$), which suggests that although "neutral policy assistance" is important, it may be more important to the jobs of staff in citizen-professional legislatures.

When this variable is collapsed into three descriptive categories (as outlined above) it becomes clear that these differences may be attributable to the large numbers of Tennessee staffers (70%) who rated "neutral policy assistance" as important (See Table G.3). The modal category of responses for all staffers except for those from Tennessee is "somewhat important." Nearly one-third of staffers from Missouri and Ohio "rate neutral policy" assistance as important, while just over one-fifth of Wisconsin staffers rate it as important. It is clear that "neutral policy assistance," or having a "technico" orientation is important in Tennessee and less important in Wisconsin, but it is at least "somewhat important" to the jobs of all personal staffers.

The importance of "helping with reelection" appears to be different across the legislatures. Staff members from citizen-professional legislatures have a mean score of 4.13, while staffers from professional legislatures have an average score of 5.37. The overall average is 4.75. These differences are statistically significant (ANOVA; $F= 8.42; p \leq .01$). Helping with reelection, which suggests a "politico" orientation, appears to be more important to the jobs of personal staff in professional legislatures.

Collapsing this variable into three descriptive categories reveals interesting differences. First, the modal category on the importance of helping with reelection for staffers from Tennessee (50%) and Wisconsin (50%) is "important" (See Table G.4).

For Missouri (56%) and Ohio (55%) the modal category is "somewhat important." Some staffers from Tennessee (25%) and Missouri (29%) rate "helping with reelection" as "not important."

Overall it appears as if "helping with reelection" is more important to staff members in Ohio and Wisconsin than to staffers in Tennessee and Missouri. In Ohio, all of the staffers rate it as either "somewhat important" or "important," and ninety-four percent of staff members from Wisconsin rate it similarly. Although it is also important in the other two states, only seventy-three percent of staffers in Missouri and seventy-five percent of staffers in Tennessee rate it either "somewhat important" or "important."

"Giving citizens a voice" appears to be important to all staffers. The average score (on a seven-point scale of importance) for all staff members is 6.04. However, it appears to be more important to the staff of citizen-professional legislatures who have a mean score of 6.3, while staff members in professional legislatures have a mean score of 5.8. This difference is significant (ANOVA; $F= 3.5$; $p \leq .10$).

Collapsing this variable into three descriptive categories highlights the important differences in having a "representation" orientation. Although the modal category for staff from all states is "important," more staff in the citizen-professional legislatures rate "giving citizens a voice" as important than staff from the professional legislatures (See Table G.5). Over four-fifths of all staff in Tennessee and Missouri rate it as important, while seventy-three percent of staff in Ohio and only fifty-six

percent of the staff in Wisconsin rate it similarly. Interestingly, none of the staff rate "giving citizens a voice" as "not important."

In addition to testing for differences among states and level of professionalism, I tested for differences in term limits, gender, party, leader, and committee chair. The only significant differences found were that staff of leaders rate "initiating ideas for legislation" as more important to their jobs than staffers of non-leaders. Also, staff members of Democratic senators rate providing "neutral policy assistance" and "giving citizens a voice" as more important to their jobs as staffers than do personal staffers of Republican senators.

Sections F and G have detailed the role orientations of staffers. In general, these findings have been consistent with expectations. Combining the findings of these two sections provides a more complete picture than each section being considered in isolation. Overall, the "technico" orientation appears to be important to all staffers. Moreover, this role may be more important in the citizen-professional legislatures than in the professional legislatures. This is consistent with expectations. In addition, as expected, "entrepreneurial" and "politico" orientations appear to be more important to staffers in the professional legislatures than staffers in citizen-professional legislatures. Lastly, staffers appear to value a "representative" approach to their jobs.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The goal of this project was to develop a better understanding of state legislative staff. Reforms in the 1960s and 1970s called for and achieved an expansion of the numbers of staff members in the state legislatures. A major thrust of these reforms was to increase the capability of state legislatures and provide independence from the executive. "Without staff, legislatures cannot possibly arrive at competent judgments, independent of governors, bureaucracies, and interest groups. Without staff, there is little hope of redressing the contemporary imbalance between the power of the legislature on one hand and that of governors and administrative bureaucracies on the other" (Rosenthal 1971).

Although the call for more staff has been achieved in many states, there has been little written about the effects of the increases of legislative staff. In addition, the congressional literature suggests that staffers have become more important to the legislative process at the national level and it is not known if this holds true in the states. I address these inadequacies in the literature by investigating the personal staff of four state senates. Below is a review of important findings. I also discuss the implications of my findings on legislative research and its limitations. Next, I address directions for future research, followed by the conclusion of this project.

A. Review of Important Findings

Who Are They?

Since little is known about who works in the legislative offices of state legislators, it is important to identify who staffers are (race, gender, age, experience, and education). In general the personal staffers in this study are Caucasian. There appears to be very little diversity in ranks of staffers in this study. The most diverse group of legislative staffers is from Missouri, but even there eighty-seven percent of the personal staffers are Caucasian. African-Americans appear to be underrepresented among the ranks of personal staffers in all of the states in this study except for Ohio.

In addition to being Caucasian a solid majority of staffers in this study are female. Females account for sixty-one percent of the personal staffers in this study. In every state except for Wisconsin, females represent roughly three-quarters of all personal staff members. Interestingly, females only account for thirty-eight percent of the staffers in Wisconsin, which is the most professional legislature in this study.

The average age for personal staffers in this study is thirty-seven. In the citizen-professional legislatures staffers tend to be slightly older than the average (42), while in the professional legislatures staffers tend to be slightly younger than average (33). The average personal staff member in this study has just over seven years of experience in the legislature and has been working with their current senator for four years. Staffers from Tennessee appear to have the most experience on average (9.2 years overall; 5.5 years with current senator), while staff members from Ohio appear to have the lowest tenure on average (4.7 overall; 2.7 with senator). In Tennessee and

Missouri staffers are more likely to only have high school diplomas, or some college work; whereas, in Ohio and Wisconsin, they are more likely to have college degrees. Ten percent of all staffers have either a graduate or law degree. The average annual salary of staffers is approximately $37,000.

Significant Differences

It appears that staffers from term limited states tend to have less experience than staff members from non-term limited states. In the term limited states (Missouri and Ohio) the average tenure for staffers is just under six years (5.7) as a staff member and three years experience with their current senator. Staff members from Tennessee and Wisconsin (non-term limited states) have an average of nine years of experience as a staffer and five years experience with their current senator. As would be expected staffers with more experience tend to be older than staffers with less experience.

I also found significant gender differences. Staffers in the offices of female senators tend to have less experience (4.69 years) than staffers in the offices of male senators (7.92). This holds true for experience with the current senator. Staff members of male senators have worked in the same office for nearly five years on average (4.57), while staffers of female senators have been working with them for just over two years (2.33). Although they have less tenure on average, staffers of female senators tend to have a higher yearly salary. Staffers in female offices make an average of $41,500 a year, while staffers in male offices make an average of $35,600. In addition, staffers in the offices of institutional leaders have higher average salaries and these offices tend to employ more female staffers than the office non-leaders.

Office Organization

State senate offices in Tennessee and Missouri tend to have "individualistic" organizations. These offices are smaller and as a result staffers in Tennessee and Missouri tend to have more autonomy than the staffers in Ohio and Wisconsin. Offices in Ohio and Wisconsin tend to have "coordinative" organizations. Less than twenty percent of state senate offices have a hierarchical organization. Most of the offices in Tennessee do not have a chief of staff, while the offices in Missouri and Ohio tend to have staffers who perform "chief of staff" duties without the title. Over eighty percent of the offices in Wisconsin have a chief of staff.

Most senate offices do not maintain a district office. The exception is in Missouri where sixty-one percent of state senators maintain a district office. Otherwise, over seventy percent of state senators do not have a separate district office. Only twenty percent of the offices in Tennessee and Missouri have a personal staffer dedicated solely to constituency issues. On the other hand, nearly seventy-five percent of the offices in Ohio have a staff member dedicated to constituency issues, while thirty-nine percent of the offices in Wisconsin have a "constituency" staffer. Only six percent of offices have a staffer dedicated to public relations or press activities. Most senators do not have committee staff assigned to them.

Working Relationships

Personal staffers come into contact with many people while performing their jobs in the legislature. They work with their senator, other senators, other staffers, lower house members and staffers, constituents, lobbyists, executive staff, journalists,

local government officials, and the federal government. In general staffers rate the quality of these working relationships as either "good" or "very good." It appears as though staffers have amicable relationships with most of the people they work with in the performance of their jobs.

Although the relationships are still "good," there are a few exceptions. It appears that personal staffers in the citizen-professional legislatures have better relationships with committee staff than staff members in the professional legislatures. This is also true for relationships with other senators. Personal staffers from the citizen-professional legislatures have better relationships with other senators than staffers in professional legislatures.

The working relationships with executive staff and the federal government received the lowest scores overall. In general these relationships are still "good," but some staffers reported having "bad" or "very bad" relationships with executive staff and "bad" relationships with the federal government. In addition, although still "good," staffers that work for male senators report having better relationships with their senators than staffers working for female legislators.

The Work of Legislative Enterprises

In addition to identifying who staffers are, this project endeavors to identify what they are doing. The single largest category of work performed by state senate offices is constituency service. Thirty-six percent of the total amount of work performed by state legislative enterprises is dedicated to constituency service. Fifty-

eight percent of staffers report working on "handling constituency issues" on an "hourly" basis, with another thirty-seven percent report doing it on a "daily" basis. Moreover, seventy-five percent report "meeting" with constituents on either a "weekly" or "daily" basis.

It is clear that legislative enterprises are dedicated to constituency service, but sixty-four percent of their work is on something other than constituency service. Fourteen percent of their workload is on committee work. Ninety percent of staffers report working with their senator on committee work on either a "weekly" or "daily" basis, while eighty-four percent report working with committee staff on a "weekly' or "daily" basis. Citizen-professional staffers work more frequently in committee activities than professional staffers.

Another area that takes up a significant amount of time is administrative work. Thirteen percent of all work that legislative enterprises perform is administrative. "Preparing and assisting their senator on the floor" accounts for twelve percent of the total amount of work performed by personal staff members. Eighty-seven percent of staffers report "writing speeches and floor remarks" on a "monthly" or "weekly' basis, while eighty-two percent report researching legislation on a "weekly" or 'daily" basis.

Although fifty-one percent of staffers report "meeting with lobbyists" on a "daily" basis this activity accounts for only eleven percent of their total amount of work. Personal staffers in Tennessee and Missouri are meeting with lobbyists much more frequently than staffers in Wisconsin and Ohio. Another eight percent of staff work is dedicated to public relations and the press, while the remaining five percent of

work is spent working with the executive branch. Eighty-one percent report working press related activities on a "weekly" or "daily" basis and sixty-eight percent are engaged in "oversight" on a "monthly" or "weekly" basis.

There are differences in how staff work is divvied up between the legislatures. Because of fewer resources and staff in citizen-professional legislatures, a larger percentage of their total amount of work is spent on administration, preparing and assisting their senator on the floor, and working with the executive branch. On the other hand, staffers in professional legislatures work more on constituency service and press related activities, than their counterparts in citizen-professional legislatures.

Role Orientations of Personal Staffers

The literature suggests three types of role orientations for legislative staffers. Their traditional role has been the technico, or the neutral professional that provides assistance. The roles of entrepreneur, staffers with policy preferences and the goal to further those preferences; as well as Politico, staffers with the intent of helping legislators meet their electoral goals, have been hypothesized as increasing in Congress. In this paper I have added a fourth role, representative, which is suggested by the work of Hall (1996) and implies that personal staffers are concerned with "representing" constituents. None of these ideas have been applied to personal staff members in the states.

As expected a technico orientation appears to be the dominant approach of personal staffers in the four states in this study. The next most popular approach is

representative, followed by entrepreneur and politico respectively. All approaches, except for representative, were identified in roughly equal numbers between the legislatures. A slightly larger percentage of staffers from professional than citizen-professional legislatures identified entrepreneur, technico, and politico as being most important to their jobs, but these differences were not found to be significant. However, a significantly larger percentage of citizen-professional than professional staffers identified the role of representative as being most important to their jobs.

Since many staffers identified multiple roles as being "most important" to their job, I also report roles that staff members rank first and second in level of importance. These roles are identified as being "more important" to their jobs. Nearly three-quarters of all staffers rank "representative" as being "more important." Clearly a previously unidentified role orientation is important to personal staffers. A majority of staffers from the professional legislatures identified "politico" as being "more important" to their jobs as personal staffers. Only thirty-four percent of citizen-professional staffers agreed. This suggests that the "politico" role is more important in the professional than the citizen-professional legislatures.

The technico orientation is clearly the prevalent role of personal staffers in the four states in this study. Staffers in general attempt to provide neutral and professional assistance to their legislator. The findings also suggest that staffers may think of themselves as representatives, meaning that they view representing the needs of constituents as an important part of their role as personal staffers. Moreover, it

appears as though the politico role may be becoming more important in the professional legislatures.

B. Implications for Legislative Research

My research has important implications in the understanding of legislative institutions in four areas. First, this study suggests that personal staffers at the state level are capable individuals who assist legislators in important ways in the legislative process. Most are well educated, experienced, and relatively well paid. They research legislation, work with legislators and other staffers in and out of committees in both houses, write speeches and floor remarks, communicate with constituents, lobbyists and the press, engage in oversight, interact with local and federal governments, and some assist on reelection campaigns. Although handling constituency issues is the single largest category of work for personal staff members, sixty-four percent of their total amount of work is spent on other activities.

Second, the concept of legislative enterprises can be appropriately applied to the states. Legislators do not perform their duties in a vacuum. As suggested at the congressional level by Loomis (1979, 1988) and Salisbury and Shepsle (1981), staffers that work in legislative offices are integral parts to the legislative process. State legislative enterprises are not as large as their congressional counterparts, but they still assist legislators in almost every facet of their jobs. At the congressional level, Hall (1996) shows that the "legislative enterprise" is intricately involved in the development of legislation, often in lieu of their legislator until rather late in the

process. This project shows that personal staffers are involved in a myriad of activities with many different actors. They work on constituency issues, research legislation, meet with lobbyists, work with the press, attend meeting for their senator, work in committees, are engaged in oversight, and have high levels of autonomy. This evidence suggests that as in Congress, personal staffers in the states are part of a legislative "enterprise" that helps legislators perform the job of representation. Legislative theory at the state level should be expanded to include "legislative enterprises."

Third, previous research suggests that legislative staff may have more influence on the legislative process as a result of term limits (Carey, Niemi, Powell 1998). This study does not address this issue directly but can provide some insight. If legislators rely more heavily on staffers in term limited states, they may be leaning on less experienced staff, at least in reference to personal staff members. On average personal staffers from term limited states have less institutional experience than staff members from non-term limited states. As a result turnover by term limits may also have the unintended consequence of depleting institutions of experienced staff, which lessens legislative power overall.

Finally, the idea that personal staff members are only "neutral" advisors is incomplete. Clearly it is still a dominant role in the states, but other roles are also important. Interestingly, the idea of being a "representative" is an important approach for personal staffers, especially in the citizen-professional legislatures. This means

that in addition to providing "neutral" assistance, staffers are also trying to insure that constituent's voices are being heard in the legislative process.

In contrast, the politico model appears to be an important approach in the professional legislatures. In addition to providing "neutral" assistance personal staffers in these states are also working to insure the electoral goals of their legislators. This type of role may be increasing in Congress and we should expect to find this approach in the more "professionalized" states in this study.

C. Limitations of this Project

This project only samples staff members from four states so it may not be generalizable to other states. I sample two of the nine professional legislatures and two of the twenty-six citizen-professional legislatures. The legislatures not represented in this study may be significantly different from the sampled legislatures. Therefore it must be emphasized that the results from this project only apply to the four states in this study. Still, since this project provides the most comprehensive look at personal staffers in state legislatures to date, I believe that the findings are suggestive of staff behavior in other states and should be useful to other scholars who wish to investigate state legislative staffs.

The data for this project were collected through a survey instrument, and as such, are susceptible to problems inherent in this method. Although the overall response rate was nearly sixty percent, the forty percent of non-responders may be significantly different. If this is in fact the case the results of this project may be

misleading. As stated earlier, my sample slightly over represents Republican offices, while under representing Democratic offices. It also slightly under represents the offices of female senators. These differences are not great and I believe that my results are indicative of personal staff behavior and perceptions in these four state senates.

Lastly, the survey instrument may not have accurately recorded the perceptions of personal staffers. Staff members were asked to answer questions about themselves, other staff members, and their offices. Staffers may be reluctant to describe what "really happens." Colleagues and personal staffers reviewed the survey in an effort to insure its validity. Still, as with any survey, the results may not reflect "reality." Every attempt was made to insure this was not the case.

D. Directions for Future Research

Future research should look to the states to discover the role of personal staffers in the bill making process. Hall (1996) has suggested that personal staffers are intricately involved in this process in Congress, but it is unclear how much staffers are involved at the state level. This project provides data that is suggestive, but cannot answer this question. It appears that personal staffers are involved in researching legislation and work closely with their legislators in committee, but exactly what their roles are in developing legislation is unclear.

Another path of interest is further investigation of the role orientations of staffers. How do different role orientations of staffers affect their legislators and the

legislative process? Do legislators with politico staffers get reelected at higher rates? Do legislators with entrepreneurial staffers produce more legislation? Is the finding in this project that many staffers think of themselves as a representative accurate and do staff members from other states think of themselves as representatives?

E. Conclusion

In this dissertation I have attempted to expand our understanding of state legislative institutions. My focus has been on the personal staff of state senators, a little studied subject. I have incorporated theory from the congressional level to make sense of state legislative staffers. We can understand legislative staffers through the use of their role orientations: entrepreneurs, technicos, politicos, and representatives. Also, we can think of them as part of legislative enterprises that perform all the duties that have been traditionally attributed to only the legislator. In sum, Personal staffers of state senators are capable individuals that are intricately involved in the legislative process.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Table A.1
Race of Personal Legislative Staff by State

	Caucasian	African-Am	Hispanic	Asian	Native-Am	Other
Tennessee (n=37)	92%	0	0	0	0	8%
Missouri (n=31)	97%	3%	0	0	0	0
Ohio (n=52)	87%	10%	0	0	2%	2%
Wisconsin (n=66)	91%	0	2%	2%	2%	5%
Total (n=186)	91%	3%	1%	1%	1%	4%

Table A.2
Gender of Personal Staff by State

	Percent Female
Tennessee (n=37)	76%
Missouri (n=31)	68%
Ohio (n=52)	75%
Wisconsin (n=66)	38%
Total (n=186)	61%

Table A.3
Education Level by State

	High School	Some College	College Degree	Graduate Work	Grad or Law Degree	Both Degrees
Tennessee (n=40)	28%	20%	40%	8%	5%	0
Missouri (n=33)	33%	21%	27%	3%	15%	0
Ohio (n=49)	14%	8%	63%	6%	8%	0
Wisconsin (n=64)	3%	17%	62%	5%	12%	2%
Total (n=186)	16%	15%	52%	5%	10%	1%

Table A.4
Mean Age, Salary, and Experience of Personal Staff

	Age	Salary	Experience	Experience w/current Senator
Tennessee	43.4 (n=16)	32,500 (n=14)	9.2 yrs (n=20)	5.5 yrs (n=20)
Missouri	40.1 (n=16)	41,500 (n=17)	6.9 yrs (n=18)	3.9 yrs (n=18)
Ohio	33.5 (n=21)	30,900 (n=18)	4.7 yrs (n=22)	2.7 yrs (n=22)
Wisconsin	32.4 (n=13)	44,000 (n=13)	8.8 yrs (n=18)	4.9 yrs (n=18)
Total	37.3 (n=66)	36,900 (n=62)	7.3 yrs (n=78)	4.2 yrs (n=78)

TableA.5

Significant Differences Between Term Limited and Non-Term Limited States (Experience and Age)

	Experience as Staff	Experience w/Senator	Age
No Term Limits (n=38)	9 years	5.2 years	38.2 years
Term Limits (n=40)	5.7 years	3.2 years	32.2 years
Total (n=78)	7.3 years	4.2 years	34.9 years
ANOVA	F=4.95; p≤.05	F=4.76; p≤.05	F=5.88; p≤.05

Table A.6

Significant Differences Between the offices of Male and Female Senators (Experience and Salary)

	Experience as Staff	Experience w/Senator	Salary
Male Senator (n=61)	7.92 years	4.57 years	$35,600
Female Senator (n=16)	4.69 years	2.33 years	$41,400
Total (n=77)	7.25 years	4.1 years	$36,900
ANOVA	F=2.88; p≤.10	F=3.81; p≤.10	F=3.45; p≤.10

TablesA.7

Percentage of Personal Staff with Experience as a Committee or Governmental Institution Staff Member by State

	Committee Experience	Experience in Another Govt. Institution	Experience in Both	Experience in Neither
Tennessee (n=20)	15%	25%	5%	55%
Missouri (n=18)	12%	24%	0	65%
Ohio (n=22)	0	32%	0	68%
Wisconsin (n=18)	0	28%	11%	61%
Total (n=78)	6%	27%	4%	62%

Table B.1

Significant Differences Between Professionalism of Legislature in Percentages of Total Amount of Work

	Const. Service**	On the Floor***	Exec. Branch**	Admin. Work*	Work with Press*
Citizen-Professional (n=31)	.30	.18	.06	.16	.07
Professional (n=36)	.40	.08	.03	.11	.10
Total Mean (n=67)	.36	.12	.05	.13	.08
ANOVA	F=4.13; p≤.05	F=24.15; p≤.01	F=6.05; p≤.05	F=3.51; p≤.10	F=2.88; p≤.10

Table B.2
Mean Number of Full Time Staff

	Avg. Number of Full Time Staff***	Mean Hours Per Week	Projected Staff Hours
Citizen-Professional (n=38)	1.92	50.7	97.34
Professional (n=40)	3.05	50.4	152.81
Total Mean (n=78)	2.50	50.4	125.07
ANOVA	F=32.17; p≤.01		

Table C.1
Frequency of Personal Staff Working with Senator in Committee

	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=19)	0	53%	42%	5%
Missouri (n=16)	0	56%	38%	6%
Ohio (n=22)	5%	77%	9%	9%
Wisconsin (n=17)	12%	82%	6%	0
Total (n=74)	4%	67%	23%	5%

Table C.2
Frequency of Personal Staff Working with Committee Staff

	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=19)	11%	47%	37%	5%
Missouri (n=15)	0	40%	53%	7%
Ohio (n=19)	5%	74%	16%	5%
Wisconsin (n=16)	31%	38%	31%	0
Total (n=69)	12%	51%	33%	4%

Table C.3
Frequency of Personal Staff Working with Staff from Other Offices

	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=20)	0	45%	45%	10%
Missouri (n=18)	6%	22%	67%	6%
Ohio (n=22)	0	46%	50%	5%
Wisconsin (n=18)	0	39%	56%	6%
Total (n=78)	1%	39%	54%	6%

Table C.4
Frequency of Personal Staff Working with Other Senators

	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=19)	0	47%	47%	5%
Missouri (n=18)	6%	33%	56%	6%
Ohio (n=22)	14%	55%	32%	0
Wisconsin (n=18)	33%	44%	22%	0
Total (n=77)	13%	46%	39%	3%

Table C.5
Frequency of Personal Staff Working with House Members

	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Tennessee (n=19)	16%	68%	16%
Missouri (n=18)	22%	56%	22%
Ohio (n=22)	36%	50%	14%
Wisconsin (n=18)	33%	56%	11%
Total (n=77)	27%	57%	16%

Table C.6
Frequency of Personal Staff Working with House Staff

	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=19)	21%	53%	26%	0
Missouri (n=17)	53%	29%	18%	0
Ohio (n=22)	32%	50%	14%	5%
Wisconsin (n=18)	11%	56%	33%	0
Total (n=76)	29%	47%	22%	1%

TabletC.7
Frequency of Personal Staff Writing Speeches and Floor Remarks

	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Tennessee (n=9)	22%	33%	33%	11%
Missouri (n=12)	8%	50%	33%	8%
Ohio (n=21)	0	43%	48%	10%
Wisconsin (n=17)	0	35%	59%	6%
Total (n=59)	5%	41%	46%	9%

Table C.8
Frequency of Personal Staff Researching Legislation

	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=19)	11%	37%	37%	16%
Missouri (n=15)	0	27%	60%	13%
Ohio (n=22)	5%	46%	32%	18%
Wisconsin (n=18)	0	33%	56%	11%
Total (n=74)	4%	37%	45%	15%

Table C.9
Frequency of Personal Staff Meeting with Lobbyists

	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=17)	6%	12%	65%	18%
Missouri (n=18)	11%	6%	67%	17%
Ohio (n=22)	0	59%	36%	5%
Wisconsin (n=18)	6%	56%	39%	0
Total (n=75)	5%	35%	51%	9%

Table C.10
Frequency of Personal Staff Engaged in Oversight

	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=15)	13%	13%	27%	33%	13%
Missouri (n=13)	8%	31%	54%	0	8%
Ohio (n=13)	0	54%	23%	23%	0
Wisconsin (n=15)	7%	40%	33%	13%	7%
Total (n=56)	7%	34%	34%	18%	7%

Table C.11
Frequency of Personal Staff Handling Constituency Issues

	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=20)	5%	40%	55%
Missouri (n=18)	0	44%	56%
Ohio (n=22)	9%	46%	46%
Wisconsin (n=18)	6%	17%	78%
Total (n=78)	5%	37%	58%

Table C.12
Frequency of Personal Staff Meeting with Constituents

	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=20)	5%	5%	30%	40%	20%
Missouri (n=16)	0	13%	31%	38%	19%
Ohio (n=21)	5%	19%	57%	19%	0
Wisconsin (n=18)	0	6%	56%	28%	11%
Total (n=75)	3%	11%	44%	31%	12%

Table C.13
Frequency of Personal Staff Engaged in Activities Related to the Press

	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=16)	0	25%	44%	25%	6%
Missouri (n=18)	6%	11%	61%	17%	6%
Ohio (n=22)	0	18%	41%	36%	5%
Wisconsin (n=18)	0	0	50%	50%	0
Total (n=74)	1%	14%	49%	32%	4%

Table C.14
Frequency of Personal Staff Attending Meetings for Senator

	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=16)	0	31%	25%	31%	13%
Missouri (n=13)	8%	15%	54%	23%	0
Ohio (n=22)	0	18%	32%	46%	5%
Wisconsin (n=18)	0	11%	61%	28%	0
Total (n=69)	1%	19%	42%	33%	4%

Table C.15
Frequency of Personal Staff Engaged in Campaigning During an Election Year

	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=7)	14%	0	29%	29%	29%
Missouri (n=6)	33%	0	50%	0	17%
Ohio (n=18)	33%	28%	33%	0	6%
Wisconsin (n=10)	10%	20%	40%	20%	10%
Total (n=41)	24%	17%	37%	10%	12%

Table C.16
Frequency of Personal Staff Working with Local Governments

	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=19)	10%	16%	53%	21%	0
Missouri (n=16)	0	25%	56%	13%	6%
Ohio (n=21)	0	29%	52%	19%	0
Wisconsin (n=18)	0	44%	39%	17%	0
Total (n=74)	3%	17%	50%	18%	1%

Table C.17
Frequency of Personal Staff Working with the Federal Government

	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
Tennessee (n=20)	5%	45%	45%	5%	0
Missouri (n=16)	5%	44%	33%	6%	0
Ohio (n=21)	0	48%	48%	5%	0
Wisconsin (n=18)	17%	67%	11%	6%	0
Total (n=75)	7%	51%	35%	6%	0

Table D.1

Quality of Working Relationships of Personal Staff with Committee Staff by State

	Neither Bad/Good	Good	Very Good
Tennessee (n=16)	6%	19%	75%
Missouri (n=13)	0	46%	54%
Ohio (n=18)	11%	56%	33%
Wisconsin (n=12)	0	75%	25%
Total (n=59)	5%	48%	48%

Table D.2

Quality of Working Relationships of Personal Staff with Other Senators by State

	Neither Bad/Good	Good	Very Good
Tennessee (n=20)	15%	35%	50%
Missouri (n=18)	11%	50%	39%
Ohio (n=22)	18%	59%	23%
Wisconsin (n=18)	28%	50%	22%
Total (n=78)	18%	49%	33%

Table D.3

Quality of Working Relationships of Personal Staff with Executive Staff by State

	Very Bad	Bad	Neither Bad/Good	Good	Very Good
Tennessee (n=20)	10%	0	20%	35%	35%
Missouri (n=17)	0	6%	18%	47%	29%
Ohio (n=22)	0	0	50%	41%	9%
Wisconsin (n=18)	6%	6%	33%	50%	6%
Total (n=77)	4%	3%	31%	43%	20%

Table D.4

Quality of Working Relationships of Personal Staff with Federal Government by State

	Bad	Neither Bad/Good	Good	Very Good
Tennessee (n=18)	0	39%	22%	39%
Missouri (n=16)	0	50%	25%	25%
Ohio (n=21)	0	43%	48%	10%
Wisconsin (n=17)	12%	65%	18%	6%
Total (n=72)	3%	49%	29%	19%

Table E.1
Office Organization by State

	Hierarchical	Coordinative	Individualistic	Other
Tennessee (n=20)	15%	30%	45%	10%
Missouri (n=18)	22%	28%	50%	0
Ohio (n=22)	18%	55%	23%	5%
Wisconsin (n=18)	17%	61%	22%	0
Total (n=78)	18%	44%	35%	4%

Table E.2
Office Organization: Chief of Staff and Level of Autonomy by State

	Percentage of Offices w/Chief of Staff	Percentage of Offices w/role but no Title	Percentage of Offices w/no Chief of Staff	Mean Level of Autonomy
Tennessee (n=20)	5%	30%	65%	5.55
Missouri (n=18)	0	56%	44%	5.65
Ohio (n=22)	5%	73%	23%	5.09
Wisconsin (n=18)	83%	11%	6%	4.78
Total (n=78)	22%	44%	35%	5.26

Table E.3
Percentages of Senators with District Offices by State

	Tennessee (n=20)	Missouri (n=18)	Ohio (n=22)	Wisconsin (n=18)	Total (n=78)
District Office	30%	61%	9%	28%	31%
No Office	70%	39%	91%	73%	69%

Table E.4
Percentage of Offices with a Staff Member Dedicated to Constituency Issues

	Tennessee (n=20)	Missouri (n=18)	Ohio (n=22)	Wisconsin (n=18)	Total (n=78)
Constituency Staff Member	15%	22%	73%	39%	39%
No Staff Member	85%	78%	27%	61%	62%

Table F.1

Differences Between Legislature Classification and Role Identification as "Most Important"

	Entrepreneur	Technico	Politico	Representative**
Citizen-Professional	.18 (n=33)	.47 (n=34)	.20 (n=35)	.47 (n=36)
Professional	.28 (n=39)	.55 (n=40)	.21 (n=38)	.21 (n=39)
Total	.24 (ns=72)	.51 (ns=74)	.21 (ns=73)	.33 (ns=75)

ANOVA F=6.35; $p \leq .05$

Table F.2

Differences Between States and Role Identification as "Most Important"

	Entrepreneur	Technico	Politico	Representative
Tennessee	.18 (n=17)	.53 (n=17)	.21 (n=19)	.53 (n=19)
Missouri	.19 (n=16)	.41 (n=17)	.19 (n=16)	.41 (n=17)
Ohio	.32 (n=22)	.50 (n=22)	.23 (n=22)	.23 (n=22)
Wisconsin	.24 (n=17)	.61 (n=18)	.19 (n=16)	.18 (n=17)
Total	.24 (n=72)	.51 (n=74)	.21 (n=73)	.33 (n=75)

Table F.3

Differences Between Legislature Classification and Role Identification as "More Important"

	Entrepreneur	Technico	Politico*	Representative***
Citizen-Professional	.27 (n=33)	.74 (n=34)	.34 (n=35)	.89 (n=36)
Professional	.41 (n=39)	.65 (n=40)	.55 (n=38)	.56 (n=39)
Total	.35 (n=72)	.69 (n=74)	.45 (n=73)	.72 (n=75)
ANOVA			F=3.29; p≤.10	F=10.96; p≤.01

Table F.4

Differences Between States and Role Identification as "More Important"

	Entrepreneur	Technico	Politico	Representative
Tennessee	.35 (n=17)	.71 (n=17)	.37 (n=19)	.95 (n=19)
Missouri	.19 (n=16)	.77 (n=17)	.31 (n=16)	.82 (n=17)
Ohio	.46 (n=22)	.68 (n=22)	.55 (n=22)	.59 (n=22)
Wisconsin	.35 (n=17)	.61 (n=18)	.56 (n=16)	.53 (n=17)
Total	.35 (n=72)	.69 (n=74)	.45 (n=73)	.72 (n=75)

Table G.1

Average Score on "Importance to Job" as a Staff Member by State

(1=not important; 7=very important)

	Ideas for Legislation	Neutral Policy Assistance	Helping with Reelection	Giving Citizens a Voice
Tennessee (n=20)	4.05	5.70	4.45	6.45
Missouri (n=18)	3.83	5.06	3.78	6.12
Ohio (n=22)	4.82	4.82	5.32	6.00
Wisconsin (n=18)	4.83	4.28	5.44	5.56
Total (n=78)	4.40	4.97	4.75	6.04

Table G.2

Importance of Staff Initiating Ideas for Legislation by State

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Important
Tennessee (n=20)	25%	55%	20%
Missouri (n=18)	33%	56%	11%
Ohio (n=22)	9%	64%	27.3%
Wisconsin (n=18)	6%	68%	28%
Total (n=78)	18%	60%	22%

Table G.3
Importance to Staff of Neutral Policy Assistance by State

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Important
Tennessee (n=20)	5%	25%	70%
Missouri (n=18)	6%	63%	31%
Ohio (n=22)	14%	55%	32%
Wisconsin (n=18)	11%	67%	22%
Total (n=78)	9%	51%	40%

Table G.4
Importance to Staff Helping with Reelection by State

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Important
Tennessee (n=20)	25%	25%	50%
Missouri (n=18)	28%	56%	17%
Ohio (n=22)	0	55%	46%
Wisconsin (n=18)	6%	44%	50%
Total (n=78)	15%	45%	41%

Table G.5

Importance to Staff of Giving Citizens a Voice by State

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Important
Tennessee (n=20)	0	15%	85%
Missouri (n=18)	0	18%	82%
Ohio (n=22)	0	27%	73%
Wisconsin (n=18)	0	44%	56%
Total (n=78)	0	26%	74%

APPENDIX B

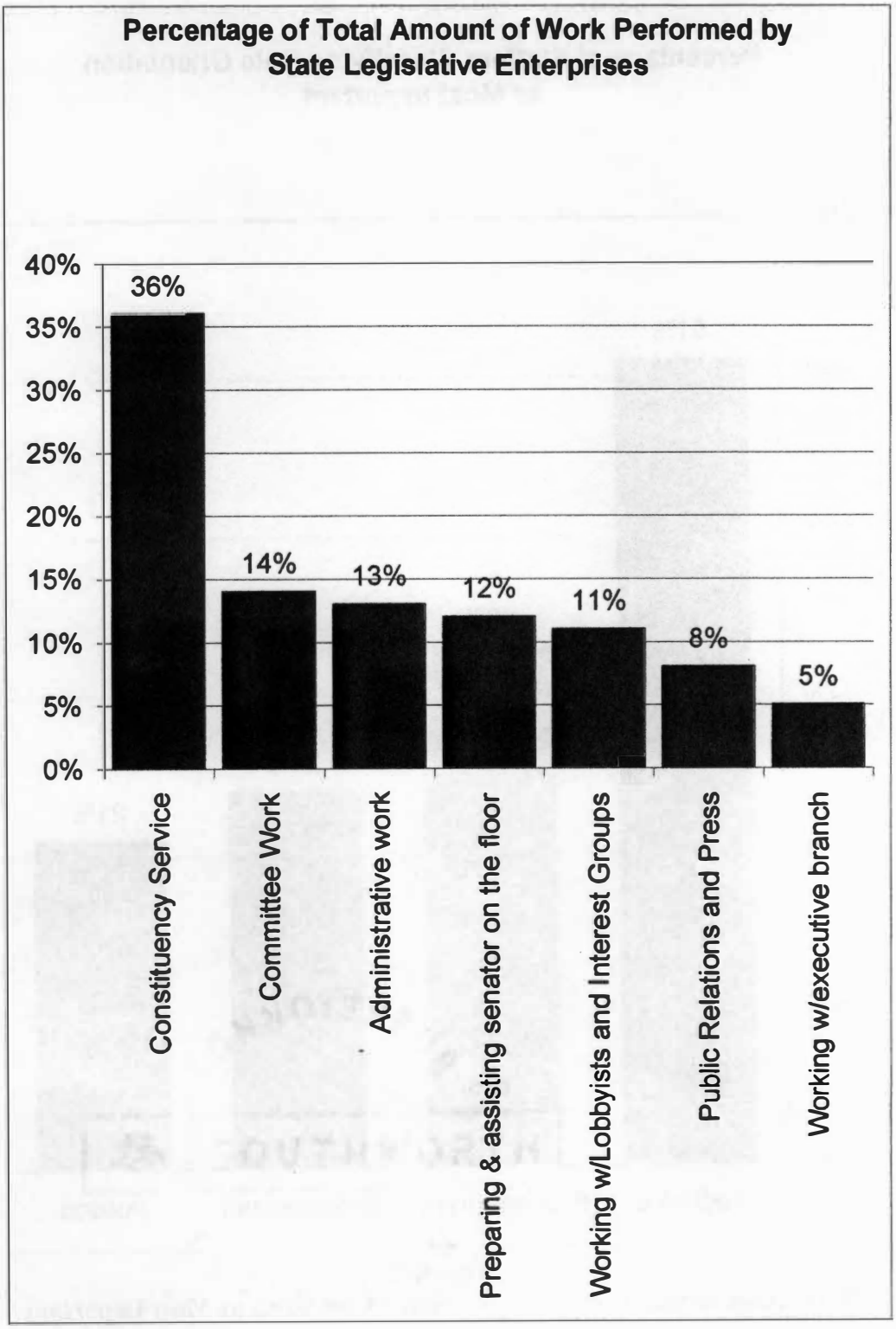

Figure 1
Percentage of Total Amount of Work Performed by State Legislative Enterprises

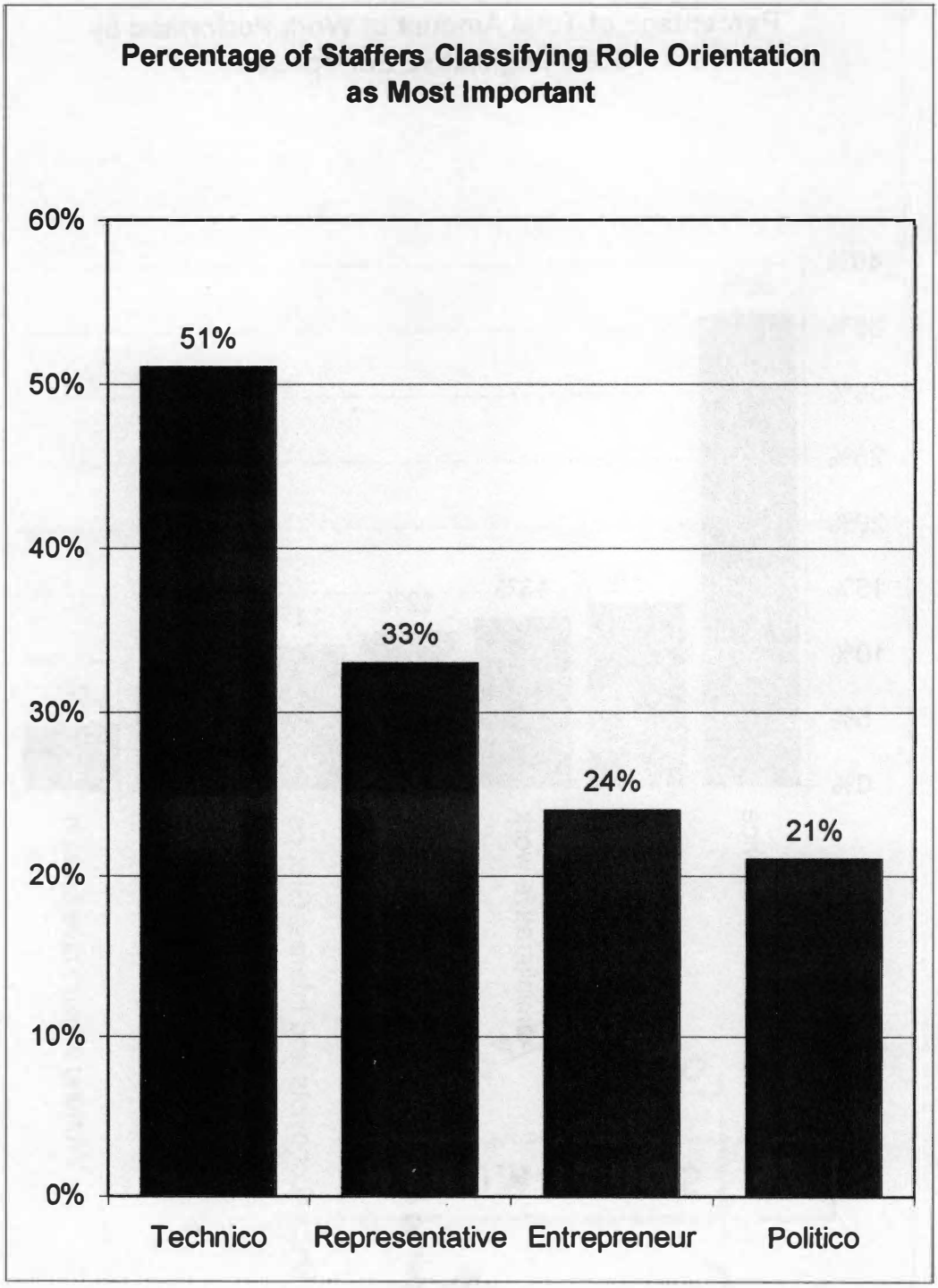

Figure 2
Percentage of Staffers Classifying Role Orientation as Most Important

APPENDIX C

Initial Letter

April 2, 2001

Dear «LastName»,

There is a tremendous need to better understand state legislatures. Over the last thirty years, many states have increased the number of staff available to state legislators, but little has been written about their role in the legislative process. Although there have been a few investigations of committee staff, no one has focused explicitly on personal staff. This project will. The goal is to find out how you, and other personal staff members, contribute to the functioning of our legislative institutions.

Your office is one of 135 that will be included in this investigation. In order for the results to be truly representative, it is important that your office be included in this study. Hopefully, you will participate in this project. If not, please encourage another staff member in your office to complete the enclosed survey. It should only take about 15 minutes. The information that you provide will improve our understanding of the importance of personal staff members in the legislative process.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. Only aggregate findings will be reported. Your name will never be placed on the questionnaire. There is a tracking number on the survey, but this is used for mailing and data entry purposes only. It is used to mark your office off the mailing list, once the survey has been returned.

The results of this project will be used to develop a better understanding of the role of personal staff in state legislatures. You may receive a copy of the results by writing "copy of results" on the back of the return envelope, and printing your name and address. Please do not put this information on the questionnaire.

I would be very happy to answer any questions that you may have. Please do not hesitate to call me (865-588-6454), or to send me an e-mail (brussel2@utk.edu). With your help, I know that this project will be a success.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Brian E. Russell
University of Tennessee

Follow-Up E-Mail

Dear "Last Name,"

About three weeks ago your office was mailed a survey on "The Personal Staff of State Senators." If you have completed and returned the survey it is sincerely appreciated.

If you have not, I hope that you will take a few minutes and do so today. It has only been sent to a small sample. As a result, it is extremely important that your ideas be included in this study to make it truly representative.

NO academics have written about the importance of personal staff members to the state legislative process. I want to correct this oversight in the literature. With your help, I will be able to do so.

If you did not receive a survey, or it has been misplaced, please respond to this e-mail and I will mail you another one today. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,
Brian E. Russell
University of Tennessee

Final Letter

May 15, 2001

Dear «LastName»,

About six weeks ago I sent you a survey on "The Personal Staff of State Senators." As of today I have not received your response. If you have recently completed and returned the survey, thank you very much for your cooperation. If not, I hope that you will take few minutes today to complete and return the enclosed survey.

The goal of this project is to develop a better understanding of the important role that personal staff members play in the legislative process. As a staff member, the information that you provide will be very beneficial to this project. In addition, you are one of a small sample of staff members. Therefore, your participation would improve this study and help to make it truly representative.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. Only aggregate findings will be reported. Your name will never be placed on the questionnaire. There is a tracking number on the survey, but this is used for mailing and data entry purposes only. It is used to mark your office off the mailing list once the survey has been returned. You may receive a copy of the results by writing "copy of results" on the back of the return envelope, and printing your name and address. Please do not put this information on the questionnaire.

I would be very happy to answer any questions that you may have. Please do not hesitate to call me (865-588-6454), or to send me an e-mail (brussel2@utk.edu). With your help, I know that this project will be a success.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Brian E. Russell
University of Tennessee

The Personal Staff of State Senators

The Personal Staff of State Senators

This survey is intended to collect information on the personal staff of state senators. It includes questions about how you approach your job, the type and amount of work that you and other staff members perform, questions about your office and organization, and about working relationships. This information will provide a better understanding of the roles and duties of personal staff members in state legislatures. It should only take about 15 minutes to complete this survey. Your participation is appreciated.

A. In this section there are questions about how you approach your job as a personal staff member.

1) How do you approach your job as a personal staff member? Please rank the following approaches in importance from 1 to 4. A score of 1 indicates that this approach is most important, while a 4 indicates that this approach is least important. (Please write 1-4 in the spaces provided)

_____ **My goal is good government.** I have ideas on how government should operate and I work to implement those ideas. I have policy preferences and I work to achieve those preferences.

_____ **My goal is to do a good job.** I provide expert and neutral advice. Instead of pushing my preferences, I help the senator make appropriate choices from the available options.

_____ **My goal is to insure the senator's reelection.** My job is to do whatever the senator requires. I work to achieve the senator's preferences.

_____ **My goal is to insure that constituents are represented.** I want government to respond to the voices of constituents.

2) Are you most loyal to the institution of the Senate, to your senator, to your career, or to constituents? (Please circle the number of your answer)

1 ..... INSTITUTION
2 ..... SENATOR
3 ..... CAREER
4 ..... CONSTITUENTS

3) Overall, would you say that your loyalties are similar to the loyalties of other senate personal staff members? (Please circle number)

1 ..... NO (If no, which from question 2 would you identify as the norm?.#____)
2 ..... YES

4) On the following scale, how would you rate each according to their importance to the goals of your job? (Please circle the number)

	Not Important						Very Important
a. Making good public policy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. Providing senator with professional assistance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c. Serving the goals of the senator	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d. Meeting the needs of constituents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e. Initiating ideas for legislation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f. Providing neutral policy assistance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g. Helping with reelection	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h. Giving citizens a voice in government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i. Other (Please describe): _____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B. In this section there are questions about the amount and type of work that all staff members in your office perform. There are also questions about whether staff are assigned to specific duties.

1) Of the total amount of time that all staff members in your office work, what percentage is spent on the following activities. Please estimate the percentage of time (of the total amount time working) that staff members in your office spend on these activities. (Please write the percentage in the space provided)

a. Constituency service _____%
b. Committee work _____%
c. Preparing & assisting the senator on the floor _____%
d. Working with interest groups & lobbyists _____%
e. Public relations and press _____%
f. Working with the executive branch _____%
g. Administrative work _____%
h. Other : _____ _____%

2) If applicable, briefly describe the "other" category of work that your office performs that was not included above:

_____

_____

3) Does your office employ a staff person whose only duties are to deal with constituent issues?

1..... NO
2..... YES

4) Does your senator have a district office?

1..... NO
2..... YES (If yes, how many ? ____; How many full time staff? ____; & part time staff? ____)

5) What percentage of constituency work is performed in the district office(s)? _____%

6) In addition to personal staff, does the senator have additional committee staff?

1..... NO
2..... YES (If so, how many? ____)

7) Does your office employ a staff person whose only duties are public relations and the press?

1..... NO
2..... YES

C. In this section there are questions about the organization of your office.

1) Of the following, which best describes the organization of your office. (Please circle number)

1..... **HIERARCHICAL**: The legislator is at the top. Larger offices will have a chief of staff. Job levels and descriptions are clearly demarcated. The legislator provides direction and the staff follow the senator's lead

2..... **COORDINATIVE**: A loosely organized hierarchy. The legislator, and if there is a chief of staff, are still at the top, but the lines of power and job descriptions are not as clearly demarcated. The legislator provides direction, but ideas may also come from staffers.

3..... **INDIVIDUALISTIC**: The atmosphere is more collegial. All have access to the legislator. Staff members operate independently and coordinate matters with each other. In general, direction and ideas come from the group, following the guidance of the legislator.

4..... **OTHER**: Briefly describe

_____

_____

2) In performing their jobs, how would you rate the levels of autonomy, on the following scale, of the personal staff members in your office? (Circle the number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No Autonomy						Complete Autonomy

3) Some offices employ a chief of staff, others have someone that performs that role without the title, and others do not employ a chief of staff. Which best describes your office?

1 .....THERE IS A CHIEF OF STAFF
2 .....SOMEONE PERFORMS THE ROLE WITHOUT THE TITLE
3 .....THERE IS NOT A CHIEF OF STAFF

D. This section asks you to evaluate the quality of your working relationships with other staff members, legislators, constituents, press, and other government officials and staff.

Please note the quality of your working relationship with the following: (Please circle number)

	Does Not Apply	Very Bad	Bad	Neither Bad/Good	Good	VeryGood
1. Your senator	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Other staff in your office	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Committee Staff	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Staff of other senate offices	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Other senators	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. Members of the state House	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Staff in the state House	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. Lobbyists	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Constituents	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Executive branch staff	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Press	0	1	2	3	4	5
12. Local government	0	1	2	3	4	5
13. Federal government	0	1	2	3	4	5
14. Other: _____	0	1	2	3	4	5

E. This section asks you to estimate the total amount of time that all of the staff members in your office are engaged in the following activities.

In a typical week, how many hours do the staff members in your office spend in the following activities? (Please write the estimated total number of hours per week that your office is engaged in these activities in the space provided)

1. Activities with the senator in committee _____
2. Working with committee staff _____
3. Working with staff from other offices _____
4. Working with other senators _____
5. Working with state House members _____
6. Working with staff from the state House _____
7. Writing speeches/floor remarks _____
8. Research on legislation _____
9. Meeting with lobbyists _____
10. Executive oversight _____
11. Working with the governor's office _____
12. Handling constituency issues _____
13. Meeting with constituents _____
14. Activities related to the press _____
15. Attending meetings for your senator _____
16. Campaigning _____
17. Fundraising _____
18. Working with local governments _____
19. Working with the federal government _____
20. Other: _____ _____

F. This section asks you to identify how often you communicate with legislators, staff, constituents, lobbyists, the press and other government officials and staff.

Please indicate how often you communicate with the following: (Please circle number)

	Never	Sometimes	Often	VeryOften
1. Your senator	1	2	3	4
2. Other staff in your office	1	2	3	4
3. Committee Staff	1	2	3	4
4. Staff of other senate offices	1	2	3	4
5. Other senators	1	2	3	4
6. Members of the state House	1	2	3	4
7. Staff in the state House	1	2	3	4
8. Lobbyists	1	2	3	4
9. Constituents	1	2	3	4
10. Executive branch staff	1	2	3	4
11. Press	1	2	3	4
12. Local government	1	2	3	4
13. Federal government	1	2	3	4
14. Other:	1	2	3	4

_____

G. In this section there are questions about your job, the other jobs in your office, and some questions about your career.

1) What is your position title? _____

2) How many years have you been a personal staff member for this senator? _____

3) How many years have you been employed as a legislative staffer? _____

4) Have you ever been a committee staff member, or a staff member in another government institution? (Please circle all that apply)

1 .....NEITHER
2 .....IN ANOTHER INSTITUTION (Which institution?
_____)
3 .....A COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBER

5) Briefly describe your responsibilities as a personal staff member:

_____

_____

_____

6) In addition to yourself, how many permanent, full time staff members are employed in your office?

_____

a) Please list the job titles of the other full time staff members in your office, their ages, and provide a brief description of their duties:

_____

_____

_____

7) How many part time or temporary staff does your office employ? _____

8) Does your office employ interns?

1····· NO
2····· YES

9) What was your profession before becoming a staff member?

_____

10) Why did you decide to become a member of a state legislator's personal staff?

_____

_____

11) Before you were employed on the staff, did you know the senator?

1····· NO
2····· YES (If yes, what was the nature of your relationship?

_____)

12) Are you now, or have you ever been a resident of the senator's district?

1····· NOW
2····· IN THE PAST
3····· NEVER

13) Have you ever run for elective office? (Please circle number)

1 ·····NO (If not, will you? _____)
2 ·····YES (If so, which office? _____)

14) If your senator lost reelection, would you attempt to continue working as a staff member?

1 ·····NO
2 ·····YES
3 ·····NOT SURE

15) If your senator were elected to a higher office, would you want to serve on that staff?

1 ·····NO
2 ·····YES
3 ·····NOT SURE

16) Have you ever worked on the senator's election campaign?

1 ·····NO
2 ·····YES (If yes, have you ever served as the campaign manager? ___)

17) If your senator is employed outside of the legislature, are you involved in this employment in any way?

1 ·····NO
2 ·····YES (If so, in what capacity? _____)

H. In this final section, please answer the following demographic questions.

1) Are you a member of the same party as your senator?

1 ·····NO
2 ·····YES

2) How would you classify your ideology?

1 ·····VERY CONSERVATIVE
2 ·····CONSERVATIVE
3 ·····SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE
4 ·····MODERATE
5 ·····SOMEWHAT LIBERAL
6 ·····LIBERAL
7 ·····VERY LIBERAL

3) How would you classify the ideology of your senator? (Please circle number)

1 ..... VERY CONSERVATIVE
2 ..... CONSERVATIVE
3 ..... SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE
4 ..... MODERATE
5 ..... SOMEWHAT LIBERAL
6 ..... LIBERAL
7 ..... VERY LIBERAL

4) What is your education level? (Please circle number)

1 ..... H.S. DIPLOMA
2 ..... SOME COLLEGE
3 ..... COLLEGE DEGREE
4 ..... GRADUATE WORK
5 ..... GRADUATE DEGREE
6 ..... LAW DEGREE

5) If applicable, identify the education level of the other full time staff in your office. Please identify by placing the number of staff members in each category in the space provided (Do not include yourself).

____ H.S. DIPLOMA
____ SOME COLLEGE
____ COLLEGE DEGREE
____ GRADUATE WORK
____ GRADUATE DEGREE
____ LAW DEGREE

6) What is your race? (Please circle number)

1 ..... AFRICAN-AMERICAN
2 ..... ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER
3 ..... CAUCASIAN
4 ..... HISPANIC
5 ..... NATIVE-AMERICAN
6 ..... OTHER: _____

7) What is the race of the other full time staff members in your office? Please identify by placing the number of staff members in each category in the space provided (Do not include yourself).

____ AFRICAN-AMERICAN
____ ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER
____ CAUCASIAN
____ HISPANIC
____ NATIVE-AMERICAN
____ OTHER: _____

8) What is your gender? (Please circle number)

1 .....FEMALE
2 .....MALE

9) How old are you? _____

10) Are you married?

1 .....NO
2 .....YES

11) Do you have kids?

1 .....NO
2 .....YES

12) What year was your senator elected to the senate? _____

13) In a typical week, how many hours do you work? _____

Sometimes staff and senators identify staff as influential "leaders" within the institution. Are there any personal staffers that are thought of as "leaders" within your state Senate?

1 .....NO
2 .....YES (If yes, could you identify some of them and their senator's name)

_____

_____

_____

_____

If you would be interested in helping me complete this project by answering some follow-up questions, please provide your name and e-mail address:

_____

Please use this section to make any comments about this survey or your answers:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your time. It is sincerely appreciated.

Please return to:
B.E. Russell
Department of Political Science
1001 McClung Tower
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0410

VITA

The author was born in Memphis, Tennessee on October 6, 1967. He attended Public Schools in Memphis and graduated from Kirby High School in 1985. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology in 1995 and a Master of Arts degree in Political Science in 1998, both from the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. From Arkansas he entered the University of Tennessee in 1998, where he taught for four years and received the Political Science departmental graduate teaching award and served as an advisor in the College of Arts and Sciences for two years. He received his PhD in Political Science in 2004.

The author's research is on representation and has been presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, the Midwestern political Science association, and the Southwestern Political Science Association. His research has also appeared in *Political Research Quarterly*. The author is also an improving guitarist.

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